A TOUR

IN

SOUTH AFRICA,

WITH NOTICES OF

NATAL, MAURITIUS, MADAGASCAR, CEYLON, EGYPT, AND PALESTINE.

By J. J. FREEMAN,

HOME SECRETARY OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

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PREFACE.

In the Autumn of 1848, I was requested by the Directors of the London Missionary Society to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of visiting their numerous Missions in South Africa; and from thence to proceed to the Island of Mauritius, to visit the Missions there; and particularly to institute inquiries respecting the Native Christians in Madagascar, and the prospects of that still afflicted country.

Having accomplished these objects, I preferred to take the Overland Route on my way home, instead of returning by the Cape; and I accordingly proceeded from Port Louis to Ceylon, where I embarked for Suez. Having passed some little time in Egypt, I visited Palestine, and returned from Beyrut to England, by way of Alexandria and Malta.

My Official Report, on the various points of business with which I had been intrusted, as the Society's Deputation, I have presented to the Board of Directors, by whom it is made the basis of conference in appropriate committees.

But numerous friends, beyond those of my own private circle, have kindly expressed the wish that I would publish some account of my tour, together with a distinct notice of sundry collateral matters that have fallen under my observation. I have, therefore, prepared the following pages for the press.

In doing so, my principal object has been to assist in deepening and extending that interest in Protestant

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Missions, and the welfare of the aboriginal races, which is already so earnestly cherished by the Christian and intelligent public. In the prosecution of this aim, I have wished to present as large an amount of *information* as I could, regarding the actual state and progress of Missions in South Africa, and more especially of those connected with the London Missionary Society.

The Tour itself could not be accomplished without its fatigue and some inconveniences. But the gratifications attending it have far outweighed these;—the gratification of witnessing many scenes of permanent moral interest, and of mingling with men of great Christian enterprise and benevolence;—the gratification of trying, at least, to promote the prosperity and happiness of others;—the gratification of marking the progress of Christian Missions, and *their* influence in elevating the Native Tribes of Africa. In addition to all this, were the frequent charms of scenery and climate, of novelty and variety; the new aspects under which to view men and customs, laws and institutions, with innumerable facts relative to Colonies and Colonization, and the condition of the Native Tribes, both in their Aboriginal and Transition state.

I kept as ample a journal during my tour as I could; yet I confess, I sometimes found myself too much occupied through the day, and too wearied at its close, to fill the pages as I desired. I have, however, made ample use of it in preparing these pages, and I have thus tried to make my readers feel as though they had been my companions, to go over the ground and witness the scenes I did, to share largely in my pleasures, and to be spared all my inconveniences. This remark will explain the method which I have pursued in the following pages.

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I have *not* given, first, chapters embracing an outline of the route, then some chapters on the state of Missions, and the special objects of my visit, and then finally some notices of incidental matter; but I have endeavoured to blend these together. I go over the route, and endeavour to describe what I found instructive and interesting in it; I pause from time to time at the Mission Stations, and describe them, and then introduce, wherever it seemed appropriate, notices of whatever I regarded as useful, although incidental and subordinate.

Having given an ample "Table of Contents," I have not deemed it necessary to provide an "Index." But it may facilitate a reference to any particular subject, if I indicate here the principal matters to which the Chapters are respectively devoted:—

The 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Chapters are occupied with notices of the Colony, and various Mission Stations and Institutions.
4th and 5th Chapters, British Kaffraria and Madoor's Country.
6th Chapter, History of the Hottentots.
7th „ Kat River Settlement.
8th „ Hottentot Grievances.
9th „ Kaffir History.
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16th „ Mauritius and Madagascar.
17th „ Ceylon, Aden, and Suez.
18th „ Egypt.
19th „ Palestine.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kind response of many friends to my Circular; but in sub-

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scribing to the volume, the wish has been repeatedly intimated that the *names* should not be published. The pages which the list of names *would* have occupied, I have filled with details of the "Tour."

J. J. F.

4, Douglas Road, Kingsland,
14th July, 1851.

It may be simply due to the Society and myself to say, that the whole of the *expenses* connected with the indirect portion of my return home through Egypt and Syria, I have met from my private resources.

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CHAPTER I.

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ST the kindest adieus and wishes, I left home in ber, 1848, and embarked at Gravesend for Table n board the "Lady Flora," Capt. Eagles. A little ied against our will, by unfriendly breezes in the iel, we did not lose sight of the land we loved, till Christmas. A favourable passage brought us, in the e of February, to the termination of our voyage. We to anchor at night, at some little distance from the n. The morning ushered in the magnificent view of ble Mountain, towering in undiminished strength and ndeur, 4000 feet above the level of the ocean; and there y scattered before us, the shipping, outward and homeard bound, riding in the Bay; and there the town itself, preading out along the margin of the Bay, and rising in he back ground to the foot of the mountain.

This was not my first visit to South Africa. I had been to Cape Town twice previously: once during my mission to Madagascar, in 1830, and again on my way to England, in 1836. The scene from the deck of the vessel, which I was now quitting, was therefore not new to me. But it

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had lost none of its charms. It can lose none. There is a boldness, grandeur, and sublimity about the Cape, of which the voyager never becomes weary, and every object is on a large scale. Table Mountain is lofty, "girded with power,"—the range of mountain of which it is a goodly portion, vast and extensive,—the dense rolling white cloud on its summit, pouring over its front, and dissolving as it reaches a more genial current of air, awfully grand,—the Bay forming a noble sweep,—and at times the ocean itself rolling in with most magnificent impetuosity. All these have a voice; they utter forth the greatness of the Creator, and his goodness in forming and decorating such a splendid globe for the habitation of man.

I was soon on shore, and amidst familiar scenes and friends. Here my commission commenced, and I found ample occupation in discharging the various services for which I had gone out to the colony as a deputation from the London Missionary Society.

It may be candid to state at once the aspect under which I viewed the various matters that came under my observation, and the prevailing sentiment which I carried with me, or wished to carry with me, in all my engagements, and throughout all my tour.

I went out, not to visit South Africa as a politician, a diplomatist, a merchant, a hunter, or an adventurer. I went out as the representative of a Missionary Society,—prepared, indeed, to hear remarks on all subjects, and from all quarters; anxious to see all that might be deemed of general interest, to collect information from all authentic sources, to exercise my own judgment and a Briton's liberty of expressing my opinions; but I was mainly occupied with the great interests of humanity and Christian Missions. I travelled among the civilized and the uncivilized—the learned and the rude,—and I felt everywhere confirmed in the sentiment, in which I am persuaded my readers heartily concur, that while Christianity is essential to the *highest and permanent prosperity* of nations, it is not less so to the

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civilizing process and gradual elevation of the Aboriginal Races, and to the safe and steady advance of colonial dependencies in their progress towards ultimate greatness, power, stability, and self-government.

My political creed is, that "*Righteousness* exalteth a nation," and that every departure from rectitude deteriorates and debases a community. Christianity, the clearest and latest development of essential and immutable righteousness, enforces on every man "to do unto others as he would others should do to him;" a safe and comprehensive maxim, that summons into action the first and deepest principles of human nature, and guides that action so as to subserve the universal well-being of society. The instinctive love of our own welfare is constituted the rule of our intercourse with others; and the only restraint on our liberty, is the innate and salutary dread of suffering evil ourselves; for the converse of the maxim is as true as the rule itself—We may *not* do to others what we are unwilling they should do to us. When governments and their subjects become thoroughly imbued with this practical Christianity, nations will assuredly realize more harmony and prosperity than the pen of history has yet recorded, and the world will reap a richer harvest of "peace on earth and good-will among men," than prophets have foretold, or poets sung.

These observations appear to me to apply to our Colonies with an augmented force. If in the matured and consolidated community, Christianity alone constitutes the healthful and conservative principle, so in our younger colonial communities, amidst their freshness, boldness, and comparative inexperience, the controlling, guiding, elevating influence of Christian principle is so much the more needed, just as, in the season of the buoyant passions of youth, a more vigorous, faithful, and guardian watch is required than in the already sobered and well-regulated man of calm and meridian age.

Various illustrations of these remarks fell under my

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observation at the time of my arrival in the colony in the spring of 1849. In some cases, it was the treatment of the Colony by the Home Government that arrested my notice; in others, projected measures of the *local* Government; and in others the treatment of the border tribes by the Governor as High Commissioner. There seemed to me a stretch of authority, an arbitrary exercise of power, incompatible with the golden rule of equity,—a want of lofty, noble, and generous principle.

There were several grave questions afloat at that time: the obtaining a "Constitution" from the mother country, that the colony might be fairly self-governed; another was, a "Vagrancy law;" but the *great* excitement that prevailed respected the admission of convicts from Great Britain, and the dread of its being a plan of the Imperial Government to convert the colony into a penal settlement.

The strong moral and religious feeling of the colonists, there can be no doubt, was the means of saving it from the deterioration or destruction that would else have been inevitable. The proposed measure was strongly resisted, if not by "vi et armis," yet by all constitutional measures, almost to the very "edge of legality." The most judicious and right-hearted men in the colony felt that they had strong reasons for opposing the measure. They thought that the extensive and ever-widening surface of the colony, with a sparse population—the comparative distance of the seats of magistracy from one another, and the consequent facility of escape to evil-doers—the easily excitable materials of the population on the colonial borders, and the immense mischief that a few ill-disposed, but talented "ticket-of-leave" men might effect, were ample grounds of objection to the measure. The resistance of the colonists did not originate in any spirit of vexatious opposition to the Home Government—for the colony is most loyal—nor in any unfilial desire to embarrass the mother country in the disposal of its convicts; nor had it any mere party purpose to serve. It was the honest moral feeling of the

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colony that was aroused. The dread of an impending danger, the extent of which the colonists thought could not be overrated, created the invincible resolution to avert an evil of such portentous magnitude, before it actually burst on the colony. Great honour is due to the public press of the colony for the lofty moral tone which it assumed on the occasion, and which at once guided and expressed the public sentiment. That sentiment obtained ultimately an honourable issue. The Government of Great Britain yielded to the clearly expressed voice of the colony, as a wise government will not fail to do, when that sentiment commends itself, as it did in this case, to the impartial consciences of men as the expression of truth and equity, humanity and sound policy.

It may not be unsuitable to introduce here a brief extract from the Letter of Instructions with which I was furnished by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, in relation to my present tour:—"The general objects of your mission are expressed in the following 'Resolution of the Board,' on which your appointment has been founded, namely:—

"To devise means for rendering Missions in the Cape Colony more efficient—to inquire into the best means of economising the administration of the Society's funds in their support—to aid in carrying into execution any instructions the Board may form regarding new arrangements of its Missions there—and to report on the whole question of the appointment of a successor to Dr. Philip."

From this extract it will immediately appear that one of my earliest steps on reaching the colony would be, to communicate freely with Dr. Philip himself. And this, I am thankful to say, I had the privilege of doing. I had long known and always revered that eminent man. While yet myself a student for the ministry, thirty-five years ago, I had enjoyed his friendship, and the lapse of years had but enlarged and confirmed my estimate of his worth. The more I came to understand of Christian Missions, the more

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sound and comprehensive appeared to me the views of Dr. Philip. He has been a man of shrewd and philosophic observation, in all that pertains to the history and advancement of Christianity in the world. No man better understands the theory of Missions. He has brought to that subject a large amount of previous reading and deep thinking. His correspondence on that subject has been of immense value. When he shall have finished his course and entered his rest, I fear no "autobiography" will be found to fill up a portion of the vacuum. But I believe materials will exist, and some one competent to use them aright will be found, that our invaluable conductor of South African Missions, though dead, may yet speak.

The venerable Doctor Philip I found greatly enfeebled in health, but retaining an undiminished interest in all that pertains to the kingdom of God among men. Incapable of bearing any longer the burden and responsibilities of office, as Superintendent of the Society's Missions in South Africa, he had, for a long time, urged on the Directors to make such arrangements as might relieve him, and yet secure the welfare of the Missions. That arrangement, I indulge the hope, has been satisfactorily effected. Dr. Philip has retired to Hankey, near Port Elizabeth, where, in the bosom of the surviving members of his family, he may pass, amidst the kindest sympathies and the scenes of usefulness in which he still loves to associate, the evening of his valuable life,—full of faith, and fervent in prayer, as in his earliest days, and often illustrating the sentiment of Herbert, of which he frequently reminded me when conversing with him—

> The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,
> Lets in new light through chinks that time has made.

The pulpit of Union Chapel, Cape Town, had been for some time vacant. The congregation was anxious to obtain a minister. While desirous that he should devote as much of his time and energies to the service of the

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Missionary Society as might be compatible with the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties, they were not willing to regard the latter simply as an appendage to the office of an agent or superintendent of the Society's Missions. It occurred, during my visit, that the Rev. W. Thompson, of the Society's Missions in India, touched at the Cape on his way to England. His temporary services were acceptable in Union Chapel,—he was warmly pressed to remain for a time, and ultimately received a cordial invitation to the pastorship. On visiting England and consulting his friends, Mr. Thompson saw it his duty to accept the invitation, combined with an appointment, on the part of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, to act as their agent. Mr. Thompson returned to Cape Town in the summer of 1850, and has entered on his important sphere of service under auspicious circumstances, which, with God's blessing, promise a successful ministry, an efficient agency, and a happy combination of both.

A condensed notice here of the colony generally, and of Cape Town itself, may not be altogether unsuitable, nor, to some of my readers, unacceptable.

The colony was founded by the Dutch about two centuries ago. The Netherland Government sent thither about two hundred men and women from Amsterdam. Thirty-five years afterwards, a valuable accession was made to the infant colony by the settlement of a number of industrious men, who left their home on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and who introduced to the Cape the culture of the vine. The English captured the colony in 1795. By the Treaty of Amiens it was restored to the Dutch, but was again taken by the English, in 1806, and finally ceded to them by the king of the Netherlands in 1815.

The colony extends about seven hundred miles from west to east, and, on an average, of about two hundred miles from north to south, and thus contains upwards of 140,000 square miles. Supposing all the large extent of territory to be ultimately added to the colony, over which authority

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has been claimed within the last four years, there would be so immense an addition made to the colony, that "our South African Empire would cover, say 280,000 square miles, an area equal to the whole of the Austrian Empire including Lombardy and adding Piedmont to it."* The frontier line of this immense empire cannot be less than 1000 miles, and its line of coast probably about 1300, from the Gariep or Orange River on the west, to the Kei on the east. The estimated population of the 140,000 square miles first mentioned, is 175,000, being one and a quarter to a square mile. The colony is divided into the two provinces of Eastern and Western; the principal towns of which are respectively Graham's Town and Cape Town.

The value of the landed property throughout the Colony as rated for the purposes of the Road Improvement Ordinances, is,—

For the Western Province	£4,000,806
For the Eastern „	1,665,754
	£5,666,560

Wool is largely cultivated and exported. Within the last few years, the increase of this produce has been most satisfactory, to the grower and the exporter.

The following brief Table will illustrate this increase :—

	Exported from Cape Town	Port Elizabeth.	Total.
1835 . . .	136,020 lbs.. .	. 79,848 lbs.. .	215,868 lbs.
1840 . . .	509,597 „ . .	401,521 „ . .	911,118 „
1845 . .	1,109,544 „ .	2,085,064 „ .	3,194,602 „
1848 . .	1,590,752 „ .	2,079,968 „ .	3,670,920 „

Some idea of the trade and navigation of the colony may be formed by the following Table. During the year 1848 :—

* See the masterly speech of Sir Wm. Molesworth. Debate in the House of Commons, 10th April, 1851.

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	Vessels inward.	Tonnage. Total.	Out-wards.	Customs received.	Imports. Value.	Exports. Value.
	515	214,979	506	£103,960	£1,152,018	£513,997
Coast-wise.	291		299			
	806		805			

Cape Town, originally laid out by the early Dutch colonists, and subsequently improved by the English, has during the last few years greatly progressed. The erection of new buildings, the covering in the water-courses, the constructing of an excellent causeway, the introduction of gas, and the scientific laying out of the Botanic Gardens, speak much for the honour of the municipality, and the enterprise of individuals. There is also the promise of still further improvement. There is a large amount of public spirit and intelligence among the inhabitants. If the colony can only be saved from the check and disturbance, the irritation and losses occasioned by wars on the frontiers, its capital towns will make steady advances in everything that is valuable and substantial. Cape Town must continue to be the metropolis of the colony, though in some respects inconveniently distant from the frontier; but so are Paris in France, and London in England. Table Bay requires a large outlay to make it all that merchants, shipowners, and insurance offices desiderate; but that outlay can be made, and every advantage gained. Jetties and breakwaters are occupying the attention of scientific men, of merchants, and the municipality at Cape Town. The distance to Algoa Bay, and Port East London, at the mouth of the Buffalo, can be accomplished by steamers in four or five days, and it is only in that neighbourhood, the vicinity of Kaffirland, that war is likely to occur. Graham's Town is far too much out of the way, in all respects, to be the metropolis of the colony and seat of government. Shipping must come to Table Bay. Port Elizabeth, one hundred miles from Graham's Town, has no harbour. Algoa Bay, on the margin of which the town of Port Elizabeth stands, is simply a roadstead, and a very uncomfortable

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one; nature has not given it a harbour, and science cannot make one, though it may do much to obviate its disadvantages. The principal advantage of removing the seat of government to Graham's Town would be, that the Governor would then be rather more in the neighbourhood of our troublesome acquaintances the Kaffirs, and ready to repress any sudden outbreak before it ripened into a war. But it would seem hardly worth while to disturb and dissatisfy the whole colony merely for that atom of advantage. A commander-in-chief of the forces might reside in the vicinity of an unsettled border, and the seat of government remain where it is. Besides, it may be hoped these border wars will terminate. The present, it is predicted by some, will be the last: most probably it will be, if the Imperial Government will do justice in its settlement of questions with the border tribes, and if the colony is allowed to manage its own affairs, by having a liberal constitution granted, such as there is reason to think will not be much longer withheld, and certainly *cannot*, with safety.

Cape Town, according to the last census of 1842, contains a population of 21,840; viz.—

Males,	10,612.	White,	9,359.
Females,	11,228.	Coloured,	12,481;

engaged in various occupations, 7319.

With regard to religious profession, there were returned as

Christian	14,767
Mohammedan	6,435
Jews	170
Uncertain and heathen	621

Showing about two-thirds of the population professedly Christian and nearly one-third Mohammedan.

For the Christian portion of the population a very considerable amount of Christian instruction is provided. Cape Town is eminently favoured with the institutions of religion. For the Mohammedan population not much Chris-

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tian effort is made of any direct kind: some of their children attend the daily schools of Cape Town, where, in common with other scholars, they receive instruction in Christian truth; but their parents usually remove them at an early age, partly, it may be, because they require their services at home, and partly also to prevent the risk of their minds becoming too much imbued with the truths of *our* religion. The general designation of the Mohammedan population in the colony is "Malay;" probably because some of them, or their ancestors, came originally from the islands of the Malayan Archipelago. It is now applied indiscriminately to all who attend the services of the Mohammedan priests, irrespectively of their geographical origin.

For the Christian population of Cape Town there is the following provision of places of worship and ministers; viz.:

Two of the Dutch Reformed Church, under the ministry of the Rev. Messrs. Faure, Spyker, and Heyns.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church, Rev. J. M. K. van Staveren.

St. Stephen's Church (a separation originally from the Lutheran Church), Ministers, Rev. Dr. Adamson, and G. W. Stegman.

Two English Episcopal Churches. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Gray, Lord Bishop of the diocese, and Rev. W. A. Newman, of St. George's. Rev. R. G. Lamb, of Trinity Church.

St. Andrew's Church, Church of Scotland, Rev. G. Morgan.

Two Congregational Churches: Union Chapel, Rev. W. Thompson. Rev. M. Vogelgezang, at present in hired rooms.

Two Wesleyan Chapels.

South African Missionary Society, Long Street Chapel, Rev. J. H. Beck.

Free Church of Scotland, Rev. W. Gorrie.

Roman Catholic Chapel, and Bishop.

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There are numerous day and infant schools, a South African College, a Public Library of 30,000 volumes, Literary and Scientific Institution, Tract and Book Society, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Orphan House, Widow's Fund, Provident Fund, Benevolent Society, and an ample array of local institutions, indicative of mercantile prosperity, and the guarantee of its increase, such as Banks, Joint Stock Companies, Gas Light, Fire and Life, Assurance and Trust Companies, Marine Assurance Companies, Steam Company, &c. &c.

The Press also in Cape Town maintains a high and influential position. The "Commercial Advertiser" has long sustained a lofty character for talent, intelligence, truthfulness, and liberality. It has been the advocate of all enlightened measures in the internal management of the colony, and of a just and humane policy towards the border tribes. The "Cape Town Mail," and the "Cape of Good Hope Observer," are rendering eminent service by the diffusion of sound and liberal sentiments, and the impartial discussion of great and vital principles. "The Zuid Afrikaan," and "Het Volksblad," are popular organs with their respective supporters. Government has its "Gazette," and its friends their own "Monitor;" the merchants have their "Shipping and Mercantile Gazette;" the Orange River Settlement, Graham's Town, Port Elizabeth, and Natal, have their own periodicals, of greater or less value, but all indicating that men are awake and prepared to think and act for themselves on the great platform of free and intelligent society.

During the early part of my stay in Cape Town, I embraced an opportunity of waiting on his Excellency the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, to whom I was introduced by Dr. Philip. I explained to him the objects of my visit to the Colony, and received from him the assurance of his interest in the Missionary enterprise, and his readiness to afford me any facilities in his power; and I found the same courtesy and offers of service on the part of the

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Honourable Mr. Montague, Colonial Secretary. And here I may be allowed to say that, strongly as I think civilians are to be preferred as governors of most of our colonies, such as Sir Alexander Johnston, of Ceylon; Sir Stamford Raffles, of Sumatra; and Lord William Bentinck, of India, there is yet much in the hero of Aliwal, now Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, to admire. He is studiously anxious to promote the welfare of the Colony; he is unwearied in his application to business; and many of his plans are wise, sound, and beneficial. Of his decision, promptness, and bravery, there can be no question. But his decision may be at the expense of accuracy and equity, his promptness may compromise his discretion, and his bravery may be without magnanimity. He may fondly lean on the *prestige* of his own name, and reject wholesome suggestions; and yet be the victim of adulation and the mere organ of a party. He may give himself credit for being unbiased, and yet succumb to ungenerous prejudices. The truth is, Sir Harry Smith has far too much on his hands; too much simply as Governor, and especially without a Council, and immensely too much also as High Commissioner for the Affairs of the Border Tribes. The relief of his Excellency, the welfare of the Colonists, the peace of the Border Territory, and the honour of the Imperial Government, are all bound up in the self-government of the Colony. The measures of his Excellency in relation to the "Border Tribes," will fall under observation in the subsequent part of this volume.

Having offered this brief sketch of the colony and of Cape Town, I commence my *Tour*. It need scarcely be remarked, that English travelling and colonial travelling are two very different things; they represent the two opposite ideas of swiftness and slowness—of all convenient and inviting arrangements made *for* you, and of all necessary yet complex arrangements you make *for yourself*. But man adapts himself with marvellous facility to all climates and all circumstances, and nature everywhere

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provides him with an ample fund of materials to gratify and instruct him. I found I must now prepare myself in sober earnest, and with all the patience which familiarity with railway speed had left me, for the *rather* tedious method of travelling two and a-half miles or three miles an hour, in a huge wagon, drawn by some ten or twelve stout oxen. The usual cost of a well-made wagon, fitted up for the journey, and with all the needful gear, is about £100. The oxen requisite cost about half that sum. At the end of the journey the wagon generally sells for about half its cost, or if not much damaged, two-thirds. The oxen are by that time of diminished bulk and value. They are changed into lean kine, and require a vacation to graze and ruminate. The traveller must procure a driver and leader. In these services the Hottentots are unequalled. A good attendant who can cook, "and make himself generally useful," is essential to the traveller's well-being. An adequate supply of provisions must be laid in for the journey. Warm clothing for the day, and some warm blankets for night, will be found welcome companions on the road. The nearer the traveller approximates to the homœopathic use of wines, the smaller the chance of breakage and vexation. Two good casks of fresh water suspended under the wagon, and supplied from time to time from "Afric's sunny fountains," *without* their golden sands, will enable him to enjoy the luxury of a refreshing cup of bohea or coffee, on the shortest notice. Bread, meat, and poultry, can usually be obtained on the road, till the traveller gets beyond the boundaries of what we term civilized life. For dainties and luxuries, he had better wait—till he can procure them; or if very anxious for them, he had better—not undertake the journey.

My arrangements being completed, I set out from Cape Town in May, 1849, with the design of visiting, in the first instance, all our Missionary stations and institutions within the colony. For a fortnight after leaving Cape Town I was not a solitary traveller; my friend, the Rev. E. Miller,

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of the Free Scotch Church, Cape Town, and now at Chinsurah, accompanied me as far as Swellendam and George, Zuurbrak and Pacaltsdorp.

My wagon preceded me to Hottentot's Holland Kloof. The next day Mr. Miller and myself followed in a hired horse vehicle, and overtook the four-wheeled conveyance soon after sunset. This plan of despatching the wagon first, allows the traveller a little time to breathe, to look round him, to complete sundry minor arrangements, which there are sure to be; then to shake hands with his friends, and "start for the interior."

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CHAPTER II.

SWELLENDAM, DR. ROBERTSON — DUTCH EMIGRANT BOERS — ZUURBRAK,' VAGRANCY LAW — MAGISTRATE'S REPORT — MISSIONARY REMARKS ON SAID REPORT—INDUSTRY OF THE PEOPLE—DEBTS—D. MOODIE, ESQ.—CONTINUANCE OR ABANDONMENT OF MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS?—OPINION OF DR. PHILIP—ROUTE TO PACALTSDORP—INSTITUTION THERE—PUBLIC MEETING—GEORGE—CRADOCK PASS—GATE KAMPHOOR—HORSE CAR AND NATIVE DRIVING—DYSSELSDORP—PUBLIC MEETING—OUDSHORN—MINERAL SPRINGS—LABOUR QUESTION—CANGO CAVERNS—AVONTUUR, MR. HOOD—ANECDOTE OF A KAFFIR.

On leaving Cape Town, my route was almost due east along the colony. I passed through the district of Stellenbosch, and observed with much gratification some of the admirable improvements lately made in the colonial roads there, under the able direction of the lamented and talented Colonel Mitchel, Surveyor-General, especially at Sir Lowry's Pass, in this district, and at Houw Hoek, in the Swellendam district. I passed, at a little distance, the village of Caledon, with its chalybeate spring (heat 92 deg.), said to be so useful in cases of chronic rheumatism; and I saw, at no great distance, the Moravian establishment of Genadenthal; but which, as I had arranged to be at Zuurbrak on the following Sunday, I had not the opportunity of visiting on this occasion. I had visited that institution some years previously. Its history and value are before the public.

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Swellendam is a large district, and has extensive flocks of fine-woolled sheep. There is also a superior breed of horses. Some enterprising farmers have of late years paid much attention to these sources of wealth. The soil yields abundance of grain, and various fruits, which are dried and sold in the colonial markets. Wine and brandy are also made; and among the products of the farms must be added, tallow, butter, soap, and aloes.

There is not much to attract the notice of the traveller on the road through the district to the town of Swellendam. In geology, a large portion of the country consists of hard coarse slate and sandstone, belonging, I presume, to the Silurian formation; then some portion of old red sandstone, and above that hard ironstone, quartzose rock, blocks of granite and sandstone. The rainy season had not yet commenced when I was there; a few spring leaves of gladioluses and other bulbous flowers, were diligently pushing their way through the soil. Trees were very scarce; human beings more so; farms seemed few, and with very limited signs of wealth or comfort. Of birds and wild animals we saw none: all was *still* life, with a fine clear atmosphere, splendid weather, and magnificent nights; a stony path under our feet, and "the milky way" above us, full of glory; "Scorpio," quietly stretching out at full length before us, and the "southern cross" far up in the heavens,—a sign, as it seemed, that the cross of redemption shall ultimately be ascendant everywhere, and bright over every dark spot of our earth.

The town of Swellendam is pleasantly situated in a fertile valley. The climate is salubrious, but the atmosphere is rather humid: its heat in summer, about 80 deg. It contains some good substantial family residences, in part after the old Dutch style, and in part after a modernized English fashion. There is a good church, a parsonage, a town hall, and a gaol, besides sundry other public buildings. I had an agreeable interview here with Dr. Robertson, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. He had lately

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been on a visit to the emigrant Dutch Boers, far in the interior, in and beyond the Orange River sovereignty, administering to them the ordinances of religion. It appeared to me that much more was wanted to promote the religious welfare of those numerous emigrants than these occasional visits and periodical administrations of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The community of the Dutch Reformed Church of the colony is large, respectable, and wealthy. Perhaps it may be rather languid, and, like most establishments, somewhat unwieldy and difficult to move; but it could not undertake a nobler mission than that of supplying their emigrant brethren with pastors, evangelists, and teachers, by whom I doubt not they would be well received (especially if of Dutch extraction), and by whom they would be in part cheerfully sustained.

The number of the emigrants is not exactly known. It cannot, however, comprise a community of less than twenty to twenty-five thousand persons. Their difficulties and sufferings have been immensely great; and whatever differences of opinion may prevail as to their political relation to the colony, or their conduct towards the colony, no Christian mind can hesitate to desire for them,—just as many among them desire it for themselves,—an ample supply of spiritual instruction, without which they and their families must retrograde in everything pertaining to vital and practical religion; when, instead of being blessings to the heathen round about them, they would make both the name of Christian and of white man to be utterly abhorred.

Our Missionary Institution at Zuurbraak is about twelve miles from Swellendam. For its early history I refer to the works of Rev. J. Campbell and Dr. Philip. Our venerable and eminently useful Missionary there, Rev. D. Helm, had lately entered into his rest. He was a man of eminent piety, much given to prayer, greatly honoured by all who knew him, and greatly prospered in his labour.

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His eldest son succeeds him in the office of Missionary and Superintendent of the Institution, and a younger son in the office of Schoolmaster—both of them devoted to the important work they have undertaken. Instead of the fathers come up the children. The village, although not to be compared with many of our English villages in romantic beauty, taste, and elegance, is not without its charms, and especially to a traveller who is willing to compare, as justice requires he should, existing things, not merely with the highest forms of civilization in communities of long standing and rich advantages, but with the former state of things, in which degradation, neglect, contempt, and insult, were the lot of the people, and out of which they had to emerge amidst many difficulties. It is something to have changed the old kraal into a decent village—the old kaross into substantial European clothing—idleness into industry, ignorance into intelligence, selfishness into benevolence, and heathenism into Christianity.

My impressions on entering the village of Zuurbraak, and passing through a portion of it to the Mission premises, were on the whole pleasing, and yet somewhat sombre. There are some signs of improvement. Some houses are rebuilding, but many huts yet remain. There are gardens, but they want enclosures. There is not all one wishes to see, as proof that so much has been done for the people's improvement. Yet, when I compare what exists with the past, and think of two hundred families residing here, so far advanced as they are, I am grateful, encouraged, and even joyous. All are decently housed to what they formerly were,—in far better condition than the peasantry of England in the palmy days of Elizabeth, or the peasantry of Ireland now,—they are comfortably clad in fabrics of English manufacture; all are on the way to a higher civilization, and all enjoy the ordinances of religion.

Besides attending the usual public services on the Sunday, I went in the afternoon to the schools. The adults were in the chapel, the children in the school-room.

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Of the former I found one hundred and fifty men, and one hundred and twenty women in the classes; of the latter, about one hundred and forty. I heard most of the classes read a little. About twenty or thirty women read with very creditable facility; some of them with great ease. Some old persons are also doing their best, though evidently commencing rather too late in life to make much progress. But it is a sight worth looking at—spectacles employed to learn A B C. Cato began Greek at eighty.

After school a prayer-meeting was held. The natives conducted the devotional exercises; and I must say they did so with intelligence, simplicity, and apparent fervour. A native woman pitched the well-known tunes of Devizes, Derby, and Mariner's, familiar to my ears from my youth upward. In the morning we had had the Old Hundredth, and Irish. The voice of joy and rejoicing is in the tabernacles of the righteous. It was often exhilarating, amidst African journeying, to hear the songs of Zion from musical native voices, to notes so jubilant in one's own land.

I found considerable excitement here, as indeed in many other parts of the colony, in consequence of some recent efforts to revive a "vagrancy law;" the design of which is to commit men as vagrants, and compel them to work, for limited periods, who might be found travelling about without some "pass," or ticket of permission to remove. Such a measure may supersede some evils; it may detect and punish some that are idle, vicious, and ill-disposed, and it may prevent "squatting." But it creates greater evils than it prevents. It cannot be sustained without inflicting much oppression and cruelty, especially in a colony where there are no poor laws; and it is this consideration which renders a vagrant law so emphatically unjust and inappropriate. The labourer has no parish to appeal to for relief; he must look out for work, and yet, in doing that,—in carrying his labour to the best market,—he is liable to be apprehended, and his labour forced from

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him in the worst market. Such a measure, if carried, would assuredly rather injure than benefit the farmer. The industrious agricultural servant would be disgusted, and would "trek," that is, would leave the colony in search of a quiet settlement elsewhere, in the interior, to avoid its possible application to himself. It appears to all right-minded men I conversed with on the subject, that in the absence of poor laws, to provide for the necessitous, a vagrant law could never be an equitable measure.

Amidst contending opinions as to the supply of labour, and the value of Missionary Institutions as creating and encouraging, or limiting and discouraging that labour, the Cape Government had very properly resolved on instituting careful local inquiry. Circulars were accordingly issued to the civil commissioners, magistrates, justices of the peace, ministers, missionaries, and other persons of intelligence and influence in the colony. Official Reports had been transmitted to the Government. That which respected Zuurbraak was not favourable to the character of the people and the Institution. The Government had, with great consideration and fairness, sent it back to the resident and responsible Missionary, for his remarks and explanations. I think it would not be an easy task to exonerate the parties who drew up that Report from a suspicion either of prejudice, or of having performed their work very superficially and discreditably. They remark, in their Report to the Government—

"From the loose manner in which the whole establishment is conducted, the absence of all control over its members by the superintendent, and there being no correct register or record for our guidance, we could arrive at no conclusion as to the number of persons belonging to the Institution. The superintendent believed there must be about 1400 or 1500, including all ages; but as many came for a month or two, and then went away for indefinite periods, he could not vouch for the accuracy of his statement or his books."

In reply to this ungenerous passage, the Missionary remarks in his letter to the Government, dated 29th May,

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1849, written while I happened to be at Zuurbraak, and while I had the opportunity of testing, personally, the accuracy of the Missionary's statements—

"I beg to say, that no adequate opportunity was afforded me during the examination, of giving the evidence which I could have given, and was perfectly willing to afford, had I received any courteous treatment from the commissioners, or had proper time been allowed me. The truth is, I had returned only on the Saturday from a journey, I had my public service to prepare for and attend to on the Sunday, and on the Monday the examination commenced. I soon found that my presence was unwelcome, and my evidence regarded as suspicious. I produced the records of the Institution, and placed them upon the table of the commissioners. I never said, 'I could not vouch for the accuracy of my statements or my books.' I said I could not vouch for the accuracy of my memory in matters of detail, without referring to my books. I did not say 'that many came for a month or two, and then went away for indefinite periods.'

"Records have been kept from the commencement of the Institution, and they show exactly the numbers admitted, the births, deaths, and removals; they exhibit a total of 2100 as having belonged to the Institution since its commencement; they justify my statement, that between fourteen and fifteen hundred are still connected with it, by retaining their names on the register, and regarding Zuurbraak as their home, though from three to four hundred do not permanently reside on the Institution, but are in the service of the farmers. If their names were erased from the register on account of absence, they would prefer to leave the farmers' service and return to reside on the Institution. This was clearly explained to the commissioners, but is not noticed in their Report.

"At present there are about 1100 residing at Zuurbraak, consisting of 215 families. Out of the whole number belonging to the Institution, 200 men served in the Kaffir war in 1846, and about 150 in 1847.

"There is nothing '*loose*' in conducting the establishment or in exercising such control as falls within the province of the Missionary. He has no magisterial authority, and does not desire to have any: his influence is of a moral and religious character. The residents on the Institution are all enrolled, all known and visited, and are all under the religious instruction and care of the Missionary. With their civil and domestic arrangements he has no power to interfere. The people are a free people, and dispose of their labour in the best market they can find. The lands belong to Government, and neither the Missionary nor the Missionary Society has any legal power to

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expel any inhabitant. At the same time, the people entertain great respect for the character, advice, and control of the Missionary. He is not without influence, but it is moral, and not magisterial.

"Again, the Commissioners had reported that the members of the Institution, having been previously warned of the inquiry and examination that was to take place, were at our request assembled in the chapel; and when all collected excepting the sick, the members present were ascertained to be, 161 males, and 135 females. Of these, 105 were examined, besides the women, who said they could read; the remainder left the chapel of their own accord, or were said to be persons whose parents had given evidence.

"The Tabular Report shows the result of this examination, which may be briefly summed up as follows :—

"Three could read a verse of the New Testament tolerably well.

"Three could write their names.

"Fifteen attempted to read, but their progress was so imperfect as to be a failure.

"Eighty-seven said they could neither read nor write.

"Twelve stated themselves to be of a particular calling, trade, or business.

"Ninety-three said they followed no particular trade or employment, but cultivated their gardens, and went about the country to cut wood, plough, drive wagons, reap, and other agricultural work, without being in any regular service.

"Of the 105, few could tell their own, their wives', or their children's ages.

"A subscription of one shilling per month appears to be contributed by each family towards the London Missionary Society."

On this passage the Missionary remarks, as to *three* only being found who could read a verse of the New Testament tolerably well—

"I affirm that there are at least 140 persons belonging to the Institution, above eighteen years of age, who can read any chapter in the Bible with ease, and so as to understand it."

I must say, I quite believe this statement, for I heard very many read on the Sunday afternoon I was there, with perfect ease and correctness.

"'*Three* could write their names.' There are at least *forty* adults who can write tolerably well.

"'Eighty-seven could neither read nor write.' It is probable that

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5000 sheep, and reaps from 100 to 200 muids of grain, that, beside from 200 to 300 rix dollars, (equal to one shilling and six pence each) which he pays to Hottentots constantly in his service, he pays more than 500 rix dollars—a sum equal to £37 10*s*. sterling—in wages to day labourers belonging to the Institution; and the probability is, that as much is paid, in proportion to their want of labour, by all who trust to the Institution for a supply of day labour.

"The married women do not go out to work, as a general rule. They have all families, and they reside at home to attend to their households, manufacture mats, &c. It is not the wish of the men that their wives should go out to labour; they labour for them and their children. Many of the young women are out in service at Swellendam and elsewhere."

A severe insinuation is made on the general character of those who are admitted to the Institution, in the following terms:—

"From what came under our notice, it is evident no hindrance or obstacle is thrown in the way of parties, of whatever character, resorting there, and making Zuurbraak their home," &c.

It must be admitted that many who come and seek admission are not religious; and it is feared that some who reside on the Institution are not religious. But all who come profess to be so, that they may enjoy the advantages of religious instruction, and all who reside on the Institution avail themselves of such instruction; and assuredly no temptations are offered to others of vicious character to come there for residence, for no canteen is permitted, and there are no females who are known to be of depraved habits. No females live in houses by themselves; all the houses are occupied by married couples and their families.

"With regard to 'debts,' I must distinctly affirm that no encouragement is given to any to incur debts; and, in fact, not more than £100 is due from the entire population, not even a twentieth part of their annual earnings. The Missionary has no interest whatever in the shop, or the sale of goods in any way.

"I cannot close my letter without briefly remarking on the spirit of the Report. I consider it flagrantly unjust towards the people, for whose general character, as honest, diligent, virtuous, and sober, I solemnly vouch. The Report is unfaithful to the people, whom it

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grossly misrepresents; and to the government, which it is calculated to deceive. The supposed writer of it, the party principally employed on it,—and who, I may remark, had previously committed himself too seriously to be considered an impartial judge,—may have found difficulty in obtaining servants and labourers, which, if the whole truth were told, might reflect more discredit on himself than on the people. On this, however, I forbear to remark, especially as he is now absent from the colony."

The gentleman referred to in the above letter, D. Moodie, Esq., Justice of the Peace, was present at a subsequent examination of 104 heads of families belonging to the Institution, as to their occupations and their earnings. He has borne testimony to the progressive improvement of this people.* He is competent to form a judgment on the case from his long residence in the neighbourhood, his practical knowledge of the people, and his official intercourse with them. The following is an extract from Mr. Moodie's testimony:—

"I certify that I have possessed, and generally occupied my present residence, within an hour's ride of the Institution, during a period of thirty-two years, and, deducting short periods of absence, have resided here more than a quarter of a century; that I know almost every resident member of the Institution; . . . . . that, for several years, an exception has been rare to the general fact, that the Hottentots of Zuurbraak Institution earn an honest livelihood, perhaps in the very best way that it could be done for the interests of the community of which they form a part; that, for several years, thefts of sheep or cattle are seldom heard of, and the suspicion, when they do occur, generally attaches rather to wandering persons of colour than to the residents of any Missionary Institution; that there is no country in the world where property of the kind is more secure at present from depredation than in the neighbourhood of Zuurbraak."

There cannot be anything more unjust or subversive of the best interests of humanity than the obloquy so wantonly heaped on the Missionaries, to whose character and exertions the present advanced state of civilization amongst the

* See "Blue Book," entitled Addenda to the Documents on the Working of the Order in Council of July 21st, 1846, p. 98, Cape Town, 1849.

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Hottentots and coloured population is principally owing, on the alleged ground of their management of the temporal concerns of their hearers, by interfering with them in the disposal of their labour.

The public are indebted to the Missionaries hitherto for having, merely by their moral influence, without a shadow of legal authority, saved to it the expense of Institutions required for the control of assemblages equally numerous in other localities.

In noticing the advances the Hottentots have made in civilization, the progress they have made in erecting for themselves, for persons of their class, really substantial houses, and the acquisition of other comforts, should not be overlooked; and this they have done under the most unfavourable circumstances, without any recognised individual right to the soil, or even their own capital, which they have fixed upon it.

There can be no doubt that there is ample room for improvement in the Institution, as indeed in all of them, and it might be difficult to find any institution in the world, in which there is not room for improvement. It is evident that in all these South African Institutions, there might be more industry, better houses, larger portions of land brought under culture; the people might do more towards their own social and religious improvement. Perhaps much of this would be effected, if the people were more encouraged. The Hottentot labourer requires a stimulus, not that of the threat or the lash, but kind treatment and fair wages; and when among the farmers, some decent place to lodge and sleep in; in a word, to be made to feel that he is regarded as a reasonable being.

It may not be out of place here, to allude to the grave question of the continuance or abandonment of these Institutions altogether. Some have thought that the time has come when they are no longer required; when the people might be left to their own energies and resources, without that constant superintendence supplied by the

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Missionaries, and when the colony would be more generally benefited by their distribution among the farmers, than by retaining them congregated in their present localities. Others, without adopting all these views, have thought it would be advantageous to give the Hottentots a freehold right in the soil of the Institutions, so that they should have the power of sale and transfer, and that, possessing an interest of that nature in the soil, they would feel a stronger inducement to improve it, and to build substantial houses. The objection to this is, that, in all probability, the Hottentots, for the most part, under the prospect of a temporary advantage, would be tempted to sell and alienate their lands. Europeans or colonists would become the purchasers, the aborigines would soon cease to retain an interest in the soil, the design of the Institutions would be wholly superseded, and the purposes of Government, in granting this use of the land, frustrated.

It appears to me altogether undesirable to dissolve the Institutions. The Hottentots and other natives enjoy moral and religious advantages there, which they could not if dispersed through the colony. If dispersed, their families would be left without education, and would rapidly deteriorate; they themselves would sink into dependency and apathy, for want of the sympathy of numbers, of class, and of association, and for want of the guidance and cheering counsel of the Christian Pastor. They would be, moreover, exposed to the prejudices still largely existing against colour, without the indemnifying feeling which they now have, that they form a *community*, and a community of some importance. Their isolation, if dispersed, would destroy this remnant of consolation, and they would inevitably sink under the oppressive feeling of being a people, "scattered, peeled, and trodden down."

It may be worthy of consideration also, whether the colony and the Government would not be greatly injured by the dispersion of the residents of the Institutions. The

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farmers have thought it would necessarily augment the number of their labours. I think the effect would be just the reverse. Many of these people, distrusting their employers, and fearing that a vagrancy law would soon be introduced, would migrate, and pass beyond the colonial boundaries. This was the resolution, I know, which many of them had formed, in case a vagrancy law were adopted; and their dispersion would produce the same effect.

In case of border-war with the Kaffirs, the Government has hitherto found it a matter of convenience to appeal to all these Institutions at once for effective aid; and until the present war (1850), the appeal has been successful. This may, perchance, not be a reason for sustaining the Institutions, in the view of members of the Peace Society, but I am suggesting it as a view of the case which the local government cannot altogether overlook, whose opinion, it is understood, is not favourable to the perpetuation of the Institutions.

To this I will only add the deliberate judgment of the venerable Dr. Philip, as communicated to the Directors of the Missionary Society, in December, 1848. His remarks arise out of a suggestion that "the property, *i.e.* the land, be made absolutely transferable," or, "transferable under the important condition, (to prevent the whole from falling into the hands of one or two speculators,) that "one person only should hold one original share of the lands." Dr. P. observes:—

"At present, the residents or members of those Institutions, while their families are receiving instruction, are useful to the neighbouring farmers as labourers, and in various capacities perform useful service to the public. When not so employed, they also receive instruction and find a home at the Institution. In this manner an educated and moral class of labourers, or peasantry, is gradually formed and distributed throughout the colony; for whenever an individual or family think they can better their condition by removing to a town or village, or to some agricultural district, they feel at perfect liberty to do so; and this is the distinguishing characteristic of our Institutions or Schools. They are preparatory Institutions for

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converting the savage and heathen natives of the colony into a civilised and Christian and free class of citizens, ready to fulfil the duties of any rank or station to which their industry, talents, and good conduct may raise them. This has been accomplished in the case of many thousands, who still warmly proclaim that they owe all they enjoy, or hope for, to these Institutions; but thousands still remain for whom they must be kept open, unless we are prepared, when doing good, to say 'It is enough,' though the work is still imperfect. When all are educated for whom these Institutions were established in 1801, or when means equally effective for promoting among them the knowledge of Christ are adopted throughout the whole colony, or when they shall no longer be needed as asylums, then may the lands be made the freehold property of the existing holders; then may all distinctions between these and other villages be abolished, and the coloured classes, no longer barbarians or heathens, may then be left like all their fellow subjects to their own resources."

If any radical change were to be effected in these Institutions, such as the resumption of the lands by the Government, if that were deemed an equitable and proper measure, then I am disposed to think, it would be expedient for the Missionary Societies, or other parties friendly to the aborigines, to purchase large farms in the most suitable localities, and constitute these native villages, when the land might be let on easy but remunerative terms, where suitable regulations could be adopted and carried into effect, more rigidly than now, where the Missionary has no power to eject members however injurious to the local community, and discreditable to the Missionary Society, which is held responsible, in public estimation, for the character and conduct of all the residents in the Institutions.

After having paid a visit to Mr. Moodie, the magistrate already mentioned, I proceeded towards Pacaltsdorp, a distance of about three days' journey. The first night we remained at Riversdale, a rising village and promising district. Here is some fine rich country, consisting of extensive plains and valleys, watered by the Vet stream. The hills reminded me of those of Worcestershire and Devonshire,—sloping and gently rounded. They belong

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to the old red sandstone formation. From thence we proceeded toward the Gauritz River, and rested for the night within three miles of it. The descent is steep and difficult. We crossed in safety, and hoped to reach Pacaltsdorp that evening, and for that purpose had hired an additional team of oxen at Riversdale; but we found the distance too great, and the cattle two feeble. Besides having his horned cattle, the traveller in Africa frequently finds himself in the "horns" of a dilemma. If he travels in the rainy season, his oxen obtain grass, but the rivers are swollen, and there is delay, as the shoulders of the animals are grazed and scarred by the yokes, and they cannot draw; and if he travel in the dry season he finds neither sufficient grass nor water, and his cattle are unfit for much service; and then he sighs for the comfort of English travelling.

We spent part of the Sunday at the Convict Station, where we had permission to hold a service. We slept that night near the Guayang River, crossed it early next morning, ascended the neighbouring hill and soon came in sight of Pacaltsdorp. Six of the people came forward on horseback to give me their greeting, and on getting near the village about seventy or eighty more on foot; they sang a Dutch hymn, as they proceeded by the side of my wagon, to the heart-stirring tune of "God save the Queen"—a tune that always adds some 25 per cent. to the pulse of an Englishman, in whatever quarter of the world he may chance to be; we presently passed within the green painted gates of the Institution, and found ourselves welcomed by the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson, and Rev. W. Anderson, then in his eightieth year, and the fiftieth of his Missionary service.

We held a public meeting that evening, About two hundred and fifty of the people attended. I embraced the opportunity of addressing them on various points relating to their social improvement and religious advantages. The Rev. E. Miller, who had accompanied me thus far, did the same. About eight of the people then responded to our

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remarks, in a brief but appropriate manner. Their remarks were principally confined to their spiritual interests; they acknowledged how much they were indebted to the gospel for all their improvement and enjoyment which had been conveyed to them by our Society, and which they knew and felt to be *the truth*. Two of them spoke with much ease and fluency, and on my inquiring afterwards who they were, it was with no little satisfaction I found that one of them was Andries Kogerman, who was to be my attendant from this spot through the rest of my journey, a deacon of the Church, and who had often accompanied Dr. Philip, in the same capacity. And I found him to the end of my journey, and till I left the colony, a faithful, kind, attentive, and excellent man.*

Pacaltsdorp takes it name from Mr. Pacalt, an excellent Missionary from Germany, formerly placed here by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, and whose memory is held in honour by the people. The Institution has laboured under disadvantages. The land is held by a "ticket of occupation" from the Government; but unless the people have a personal right in the soil, they are scarcely willing to improve it so diligently as they might do; at any rate, they plead this as an excuse for not doing it. A farm in the neighbourhood has been purchased for their benefit, and towards which they contributed a portion. They appeared to me to require stimulating; and yet the incessant demand for stimulus is extremely fatiguing and exhausting to a Missionary. They have a Missionary of great mildness and excellence to labour among them. In addition to all his other services, he takes charge of the school; and one cannot but hope he may witness the success of his toil, both among the juvenile and the adult

* Andries was leaving his wife and family, to accompany me for many months. As he could not write, and therefore could carry on no direct correspondence with his home, I advised him to try and learn during the journey. He did so, and succeeded in writing epistles not a few.

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portion of his flock, on a larger scale than has yet been realized. Persevering energy seldom fails of accomplishing its object. "In due season ye shall reap, if ye faint not."

There is an excellent Infant School at Pacaltsdorp, conducted by Miss Anderson. The daily school, which is not largely attended, is diligently conducted by Mr. Atkinson. It is to be lamented that the advantages of education are not more appreciated by the natives. That appreciation must, however, be of slow growth. Parents who do not know the value of instruction themselves, except of a very limited kind, cannot be expected to seek it very earnestly for their children. Some generations must pass before it is duly estimated and earnestly cultivated.

George is a rising town, with a population of about 1500, three miles from Pacaltsdorp. It is too liberally supplied with "canteens,"—houses licensed for the sale of ardent spirits. Two or three might suffice, but the revenue obtains a sinister benefit by licensing *nine*; and the morals of the people are trebly depreciated.

I attended an Annual Meeting of the Branch Bible Society in George. It was held in the large Dutch Church. The addresses were partly in Dutch and partly in English. The assembly was large—the collection moderate: a criterion rather of the careful habits, than the wealth of the people. The smallest coin in Her Majesty's realm occupied a prominent place in the contributions,—a too literal imitation of the offerings of one who gave her two mites, "which make one farthing," but who, in so doing, generously and nobly "cast in all that she had, even her whole living."

Besides the Dutch Church, there is here a small Episcopalian community, under the ministry of Rev. J. Welby; a coloured congregation, to which the Society's laborious Missionary, Mr. Melville, preaches; and a limited, though increasing English congregation of Nonconformists, who have lately invited the Rev. Wm. Elliott to become their pastor, whose long experience in the colony, and whose

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eminent attainments as a scholar, qualify him to hold a most respectable position as a Christian minister, and promise great and solid advantages to any congregation that may be favoured with his services, and capable of appreciating their value.

At a little distance from George is the Cradock range of mountains, over which travellers formerly crossed by the difficult and dangerous "Cradock Pass;" from the formidable difficulties of which passengers are now relieved by the construction of the "Montagu Pass," a work that reflects great honour on the government, the engineer, and the surveyor.

An admirable sketch of the old Pass has been drawn by Colonel Mitchell, having perhaps a little touch of the romantic withal. "Road-boards" and road improvements add very much to the ease, comfort, and safety of traveling, but they woefully take off the charms of the picturesque, the adventurous, and the marvellous.

The Pass or Gate Kamphoor, on the way to Dysselsdorp, constitutes one of the boldest, grandest, wildest scenes in nature. It reminded me of the Trossacks, near the Lake Katrine. Everywhere are exhibited the effects of the most fearful convulsions and disturbances of our earth's crust in some former period of its geological history, and such as almost constrain the traveller to pause and ask himself, amidst his astonishment, whether he be still really an inhabitant of this planet, or has not been conveyed away by some invisible force to a distant planet.

However, having pleasantly survived the astonishment, and got through the Poort, I reached the Kamanassie Stream, and was then met by our Missionary, the Rev. W. Anderson, son of our venerable friend at Pacaltsdorp. Mr. Anderson had very considerately come forward from Dysselsdorp to meet me with a horse-car—an agreeable change from a tedious ox-wagon—and by which means I was able to reach his station in time to rest, and afterwards attend a public evening service. In fact, we pro-

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ceeded so rapidly, under the bold hand of a skilful native driver, and over roads so little troubled with any macadamizing process, that it seemed, ever and anon, as though every limb and bone of this mortal frame would part company, unless held together by remarkably tenacious ligaments, and, "a leathern girdle round the loins." Many of Mr. Anderson's friends came out on horseback to meet the visitor, for several miles on the road. The Jehu of our car kept them on full gallop on his return.

There are not more than about eighty inhabitants in the village itself. Many hundreds live in the surrounding country among the farmers, and identify themselves with this Mission Station, so that on Sundays a congregation is usually collected of from 300 to 500 persons. The direct influence of the Missionary extends over about 1500 persons. The site of the village is a gentle elevation of about 100 feet above the level of the Olifant (Elephant) River. It commands a fine view over a very extensive plain, which is bounded on the horizon by a range of lofty hills, including some highly picturesque scenery, rendered all the more striking by a long range of red-sandstone hills, that have suffered by convulsions and subsidencies, leaving a jagged, broken, abrupt appearance over the whole mass.

I was much gratified here by the spirit and manner of the people at public service. Nothing could be more decorous. All seemed attentive and in earnest, anxious to understand and to profit. Simplicity, sobriety, and truthfulness appeared to characterise them. All were comfortably attired, none gaudily. The singing was good, the voices melodious: the women's exceedingly clear, often musical; and the men's a good accompaniment in bass. They made collections on the Sunday which I spent there, towards a new chapel at the village of Oudshorn. The contributions were of course quite voluntary. And they did the thing generously. They seemed so pleased with the effort in the morning, that they begged it might

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be renewed in the afternoon; and they came prepared the second time, and contributed altogether about ten pounds. They promise to raise about £100 per annum, as an Auxiliary, towards the Missionary Society. They acknowledge they *can* do it if they try, and that they *ought* to make the effort. There is much in having a willing mind.

On the Monday morning a public meeting was held in relation to the Convict question, which the people sufficiently understood. They wished to express their desire that the convicts of England should not be sent to the Cape. They agreed to a memorial to that effect to the Government; though few could write, nearly 500 signed with the faithful sign of the cross.

On leaving the village, many came to say farewell,—wishing me a "safe journey," expressing the hope "that God would take me back safely;" "compliments to all their friends," and "a thousand compliments to my wife and family." Amidst all this, one could not help the reflection, how effectually Christianity softens, refines, and elevates! What a blessing is it in social life, transforming the selfish into generous, the harsh into kind, the proud into humble, and the revengeful into pacific and forgiving! Domestic life is sanctified, and its charms augmented; manners become bland and courteous; the very countenance brightens with intelligence; order prevails over lawlessness, and industry succeeds to idleness and vice. The lands smile, deserts blossom as the rose, and the wilderness rejoices with joy and singing. "The heavens hear the earth, the earth hears the corn and wine and oil, and they hear Jezreel."

And then, that new place of worship at Oudshorn shows how much may be effected by the zeal and co-operation of a willing people, although their resources be exceedingly limited. It was found to be desirable to have a chapel in that locality especially, to suit the convenience of many of the people resident there. Mr. Anderson and his friends resolved on attempting it. A slip of land was purchased.

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Part of it was re-sold, so as to leave just enough for the purpose required. The Missionary with his own hands led the way. Example is more impressive and effective than precept and exhortation. Clay was found on the spot, and 73,000 bricks were made. Mr. Anderson devoted three days a week for six weeks to the task, and the people gave their labour. The chapel will be worth £500, inclusive of the people's unpaid, but voluntary labour, and it will accommodate 350 hearers. I recommend its being called "Anderson Chapel."

The ground here is impregnated with saltpetre. The roads are often covered with it, in fine white crystals, so that at a little distance one might fancy there had been a fall of snow.

At the village I went into a native house belonging to one of Mr. Anderson's congregation. The people had most kindly prepared some provisions. The family library consisted simply of the Bible and a hymn book. There is a sad deficiency through the colony of material for mental improvement in the Dutch language. The people who can read have little besides what I have just named, and the mind remains in too quiescent, if not stagnant a condition.

There are some valuable mineral springs at Dysselsdorp, that may some day, in the future prospects of the colony, render the village as important as Cheltenham or Bath in the mother country. These springs are partly sulphurous and partly chalybeate. They have been of considerable service in many cases of contracted joints, arising from rheumatic fever, by no means unknown in this part of the country. It is a merciful arrangement of Providence that an antidote exists where the disease prevails. The same economy prevails, perhaps, everywhere as to all diseases; and the principle is found in the moral as well as the physical government of God. There is a remarkable piece of ground in the immediate vicinity of the springs, about half an acre in extent, and two feet in depth. It was for-

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merly a swamp covered with reeds. These have successively perished and decomposed; the soil is now saturated and blackened with the gases which proceed from these mineral springs.

At a public meeting of the people which I attended, chiefly in reference to the temporal affairs of the Station, I was struck with some very shrewd remarks made by the natives on the question of labour. They said they had been found fault with, as a body of labourers, that they were deficient in industry, and that Government had instituted an inquiry into the affair, so far as they were concerned. They thought it might be now equally proper to inquire into the conduct of masters towards the labourers, for possibly there might be some matters of just complaint against the employers, and that both sides should be heard. Wages, they said, were very low. Farmers sometimes broke their engagements, and the people found it difficult to obtain redress. They mentioned several cases of hardship. They urged too, that, after all the charges brought against them, it was some proof of their industry, that *all* the agricultural work in the colony was performed by them, the labourers of the coloured class, inasmuch as the farmers themselves never put their hands even to a spade.

Before quitting this part of the colony, I was glad to embrace the opportunity of paying a visit to the famous Cango Caverns, in the district of George, of which accounts have been published by Thompson and other travellers. They are said, by those who have seen the Caves of Elora and Elephanta, to be far superior to them, both in extent and grandeur. They are wholly natural, and are among the stupendous wonders of creation.

The road along which we had to proceed forms the "Poort," or "Pass" of the river Grobbelaar; it is a gorge, or defile, between two ranges of lofty and precipitous mountains. The river winds most coquettishly along the bottom; now gentle, placid, and inviting, then abruptly

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dashing aside, frowning, threatening, and concealing its course amidst the dense umbrage of the jungle. In rainy seasons, when the torrents are immensely swollen, the stream becomes dangerous and impassable. At the time of my visit it was most obligingly shallow, seldom exceeding two feet in depth. With due caution we crossed it without difficulty or accident. But from its extremely serpentine course, we had to cross it thirty times. The scenery is magnificent. The convulsions have been fearful. Many of the rocks are thrown up perpendicularly. Many are broken into wild and awful forms. They are for the most part covered with vegetation. Along the course we took, the principal trees are mimosas, with their long and sharp thorns; where an equestrian, with a closely-buttoned leather jacket, has far less danger of interruption and laceration than one clad in the flowing costume of an oriental. These mimosas are interspersed with thousands of beautiful crimson geraniums, large and splendid plants of *palma Christi*, and a kind of strong-scented lilac. After proceeding about five miles through the George, we came to an open space, and presently reached the residence of Mr. Botha, a farmer who has lately purchased the property, including the Caverns. It was advanced in the afternoon when we arrived, and the farmer expressed a little reluctance at our going in so late; but as my time was precious, we pressed it, and having taken a cup of tea, which the hostess soon provided, we mounted our horses, and at a mile's distance came to the entrance of the Caverns, on the side of a lofty limestone mountain. The entrance is vast and imposing, exceedingly lofty and spacious,—a porch befitting these subterranean and "crystal" palaces. A fire was kindled, and we were provided with long bamboo canes, spiked, not with daggers, but with candles. On entering the caverns, we descended into a dark and gloomy passage, implicitly following our guides, whose lighted candles, however, were all we could distinguish. We were now soon arrested,

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by reaching the brink of a yawning precipice, and "darkness visible" beyond it. Down we descended, by means of a ladder placed there for the purpose, and which is drawn up again every time it has been used. With due precaution, holding the steps of the ladder with one hand, and our friendly candle with the other, we safely reached the lower regions, say thirty feet from the top of the descent; and we then commenced our subterranean pilgrimage, and proceeded to inspect one spacious apartment after another, all the while filled with awe, wonder, and admiration. Many of the rooms are very lofty—thirty, forty, fifty, sixty feet high. Their extent cannot be seen at one view, nor indeed of any of them, unless, perhaps, an immense number of torches were placed in the room; even then, I suspect, only the lights would be seen in the distance, and not the objects themselves. Many rooms are filled with millions of stalactites, descending in all forms from the ceiling, and meeting their kindred *stalagma* on the ground. Many of them retain only the grandeur of their forms: they are vast, magnificent, and exceedingly diversified. Others retain beauty, as well as colossal dimensions, consisting of fluted columns, towering to amazing heights, and resembling, at some distance, immense cathedral-organs. In other instances, they stand like primeval trees, such as I have seen in the quarries of Portland. Some of the specimens were of a remarkably white and glittering character, and some perfectly transparent. Here were niches, columns, cornices, fretted-work roofs in all variety of form and of beauty, far beyond verbal description. The detail would be insufferably tedious, but the impression of it as a whole is most effective. You feel at once transported into a region where you stand amidst the silent work of untold ages, perhaps thousands of ages. You have nothing in nature above ground to compare with it, and nothing of the work of man that can compete with it. The process of crystallization is still going forward, but not in all places. The crystal palace advances, though

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without the magic hand of Paxton. The stalactite is still gradually forming in innumerable places; in others it has ceased, and the slow progress of decay and disintegration is going forward. It seems an established law, that it must live and increase; or else, in becoming quiescent and stationary, it decays. The exterior becomes first moist and clammy, then the crystals are destroyed; the adhesion ceases, and they crumble to powder. One room, called the "Sand-room," is strewn with fine sand—I presume, the decayed crystals of decomposed stalactites. Part of this is beautifully white, and part beautifully red; the colour of the latter occasioned, no doubt, by the presence of iron, which may be found in the vicinity of the limestone rock, through which the water had oozed, carrying an oxide in solution with the lime.

We left the caverns at five o'clock, and returned to the farmer's residence, where we again found a cup of tea refreshing; and in about an hour and a half we had supper with the family, and shortly after retired to rest; the ultra sober hour of seven o'clock in the evening being the usual time when the family separate for the night's repose. The good woman of the house told me she had had twenty-two children, eight of whom were still living. Her mother had had twenty-three. The population of the colony is rather sparse, but at this rate of increase, will not very long remain so. We returned to Dysselsdorp next day, and I then started for our next Missionary Station at Avontuur, in the Long Kloof.

Having sent my wagon forward from Dysselsdorp, by spans of oxen kindly lent by the people there, Mr. Anderson conveyed me in a horse-car to Avontuur (Adventure), still in the district of George. The distance is about seventy-five miles. We travelled along the Kamanassie Hoogte, or "heights." The descent to the stream of that name is steep and difficult, and the opposite ascent of the same character.

The Mission Station of Avontuur, under the care of

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Rev. W. Hood, has many encouraging features. It commenced "as a day of small things." Mr. Hood's first congregation amounted to six persons. That was on a weekday evening. On the Sunday there was a larger attendance. A Dutch farmer in the neighbourhood offered Mr. Hood the use of a dwelling-house, with land for grazing cattle and raising corn sufficient for the use of his family, if he would settle there as the Missionary. He did so, and there are now both good congregations and useful schools. The Missionary Society has no land here of its own, nor do the people hold any by grant from the Government. The farmer already referred to offered portions of land, on easy terms, to the people. Many native families accepted the offer, and are now residents, and in circumstances of comparative comfort. None of them were here when Mr. Hood arrived. They have felt induced to settle in the locality by the advantages afforded them, by the easy terms on which they occupy the land, and by the religious privileges placed within their reach. The plan deserves to be imitated by others. It is politic, as well as benevolent. It has brought labour within reach of the farmer, when he needs it, and it has suited the wants of the people. Part of the dwelling-house has hitherto served as a chapel; but a more commodious and substantial place is now in course of erection. The people build it at their own cost. Its dimensions are fifty-five feet by twenty-five, and it is constructed of stone to the lintels of the doors, and the rest of brick, made of the clay found on the spot. With a front gallery for children, it will accommodate about four hundred. The people come in for worship on the Sunday from several miles' distance. About seven hundred altogether thus fall under the influence of the Missionary, who, possessing also some knowledge of medicine, becomes their physician amidst their bodily ailments, as well as their spiritual pastor, having the "cure of souls." It is desirable that all Missionaries for Africa should be competent to exercise the medical art.

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The Sunday which I spent at this station I shall long remember. The attendance was good; the interest and attention of the people very gratifying. Besides morning and evening services, we held a Missionary meeting in the afternoon, and gave the people details of the progress of the gospel in various parts of the world, to which they listened with cordiality and benevolence. Thankful for the advantages which they themselves enjoyed, they were earnestly desirous that the whole family of man might enjoy them too. And this is just what might be expected. The benevolence of Christianity is wonderfully efficacious in counteracting the natural selfishness of the human heart, and expanding its purest and best affections.

There resides at Avontuur a native, a Kaffir of the Gaika tribe, of the name of Genote, whose history illustrates the value of Missions, and the power of Divine truth. Several years ago he went with some companions, out of sheer curiosity, to see the Missionary, Williams, then of Kaffirland. They had heard of him, but knew not what was meant by the designation. Much to their surprise, they found him a human being, but of a different colour, dress, and language to their own. Zwart Booy, as Genote was usually called, remembered much that was said, and could not divest himself of the exhortation "to flee, for there was danger." The Missionary had no doubt been urging the same truth that John the Baptist did in the wilderness of Judæa; but the Kaffir knew of no danger except that of being wounded or killed in war. He was on the spot when Williams the Missionary sickened and died, and he was employed to carry a letter on the subject to Mr. Hart, of Somerset. Just then there was a prospect of war, and he made up his mind to leave Kaffirland and enter the colony. He hired himself to a farmer, and was much prized for his fidelity and honesty. He afterwards settled nearer to Avontuur, from which the farmer's residence was separated only by a steep and

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rugged mountain. He and the Missionary met occasionally. After having been observed at the chapel on a Sunday, a friend brought him in the course of a day or two to Mr. Hood, and said, "Have the kindness to speak to this old man; he has been restless and sleepless these two nights." On being asked to sit down, and open his mind, he confessed that he felt an impression of danger—danger he could not understand nor describe, and he was distressed; he felt as though he had committed some grave offence, and was about to be punished. When asked what he thought might be the cause of this uneasiness, "Oh!" said he, "my sins, my sins! The immensity of my sin makes my heart as heavy as a mountain of lead! I I have no knowledge, no wisdom. I know not what to do. Tell me, therefore, what to do." The Missionary spoke of God, and found he had a tolerably clear perception of Him as Creator and Preserver; "but," said the man, "I want something more. I cannot be satisfied—I cannot rest. Tell me what it is." The heart thus prepared for the truth, the Missionary unfolded to him the words of life and the wonders of redeeming mercy. The Kaffir told him what a change he had felt in his heart. "Some time since," said he, "a child of mine died; I became frantic, and should have destroyed myself, had I not been restrained by force. A month ago, another of my children sickened, and I said in my heart, 'The great God who gave him to me, has a right to take him from me; let him do his pleasure.' I loved my child; it was a hard struggle, but I gave him back to God. When the child was dying, my friends came in to weep and to lament with me. I put them out of the room, for I thought I should lament too, and then wish to hold him back; and how could I, after I had resigned him to God? My child died, and I was still and silent. Now, who could have made me feel so," asked the Kaffir, "but the great God? What can I do to serve him?" He listened with breathless anxiety while the Missionary explained to him the grace of the Saviour.

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He partly comprehended the matter; light was breaking in. "Tell me again," said he, "for I am old and stupid." His eyes were fixed; tears streamed down his sable cheeks; and his tall and noble figure trembled with mental agitation; and as soon as he could find utterance for words, he expressed his astonishment at the mercy and condescension of God. These interviews were repeated, and at length he expressed the wish to come and live on the spot. He endeavoured to arrange this with some of the people; but as he had some cattle, there was difficulty in the way, the land which they occupied being already as full as the pasturage would permit. Naming this to Mr. Hood, he said, "I am a Kaffir, and I am fond of my cattle; *but I 'll get rid of the last of them*, if I cannot otherwise come to reside here to hear the word."* As the Missionary was needing a shepherd, he proposed to him to come and tend the herd, and that he might graze his cattle with them; and he should have a monthly payment for his services. Genote was silent a few minutes, and then said, "That is not *your* plan; it is," said he, pointing upwards, "it is *He* who has put it into your heart." He accordingly arranged to come and to bring his wife and little stock of moveable property. The farmer with whom he lived was unwilling to part with him. "What possesses you?" said the farmer; "you are not far from the church—you can go there as often as you like. I never hinder you." "True," said the man, "but the mountain on the road is steep, and I am old and weak. Besides, you count all the days I am absent, and deduct them from my wages." "But why should you go so often? I do not," replied the farmer. "Ay," said the Kaffir, "but you have a great Bible lying in the window, which I hope you read every day. I cannot read, so that all I obtain must come in at *the ear*, and I must live near the man that can tell me

* "The kingdom of heaven is like a man who, when he hath found one pearl of great price, goeth and selleth all that he hath, that he may obtain possession of it."

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every day." "But why not, then, do as we do?" said the farmer. "We invite the minister to one of our places, and then we meet together to hear." "I 'm afraid," said the poor man, "little good comes of that; besides, we have no places to invite our minister to, and you know you would not give him your place; and so, I mean to go!"

And go he did; and came to Avontuur, and resides there still; conducts himself in a truly exemplary manner, and lives in the good-will and confidence of all around him. He has been baptized, is a member of the church, is earnest in prayer, and diligently exhorts others to seek the peace which he has obtained through faith on the Son of God.

Genote often prays in public; he did so the Sunday I was there. He began in Dutch, but as his heart warmed, he gradually and naturally fell into the Kaffir, with which he was more familiar, and the people felt that there was the earnestness of devout supplication and thanksgiving, even though they (familiar only with Dutch) could but imperfectly comprehend all the words he employed.

The wife of Genote, now generally called Samuel, the name he chose on his baptism, is a sister of Makomo, of whom so much has occurred in the late conflicts between the Colony and the Kaffirs. Her long absence from her own country is making her forgetful of her native language, and yet, most inconveniently, she has great difficulty in acquiring the Dutch, and still more in getting the English, which is but occasionally used there. A very fatal confusion of languages in her case, certainly!

I next proceeded to "*Kruis Fontein*"—Cross Fountain—and Hankey. The former is a Missionary out-station to the latter. The property was purchased by the late Williams, Missionary in Kaffirland, to form a native village for Hottentots, the emancipated classes and others, who might be willing to pay a small rental sufficient to cover the interest of the purchase, and who might then receive instruction and religious services. The Missionary Society now

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holds the property, and the Station itself enjoys considerable prosperity. The people who attended service while I was there, had an air of comfort, intelligence, and independence about them, that pleased me much. There is a plain building that serves for a chapel, and accommodates about 250 people. Another building is used for an infant school, in which about thirty-five children attend. Mr. Clarke, formerly fellow-labourer with Mr. Kolbe, among the Bushmen, resides here as School-master and Assistant-Missionary. He has spent many years in Africa. Rev. T. D. Philip acts as pastor, and comes over from Hankey to visit the people and administer the ordinances of religion once a month.

This Station further illustrates, to my mind, the importance of encouraging the natives to become landholders in some form, even on a small scale. They feel themselves more independent, and it awakens their industry to maintain their position; and with an interest in the soil, they will be neither vagrants nor rebels.

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MISSIONARY INSTITUTION AT HANKEY.

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CHAPTER III.

A NATIVE MINISTRY—EUROPEAN AID REQUISITE—HANKEY INSTITUTION, INUNDATION — MACHPELAH — AFFECTING ANECDOTE — TUNNEL CHART—FERTILITY, A THOUSANDFOLD—NATIVE CAPACITIES—EDUCATION—MAPS WANTED—PUBLIC MEETING—NEW CHAPEL, CHURCH-MEMBERS AND RULES OF CHURCH-FELLOWSHIP—PORT ELIZABETH—FINGOES—BETHELSDORP—SALT PAN—THOMAS PRINGLE—NATIVE RACES—FEARS AND HOPES—CONTRIBUTIONS—UITENHAGE—TEA PARTY—THEOPOLIS—SUFFERINGS FROM WAR, 1847—GRAHAM'S TOWN, CHAPELS—HOTTENTOT CORP OF CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES—CANTEENS.

THE great desideratum in all Christian Missions, next to the conversion of men to the Christian faith itself, is *the preparation of a Native Ministry.* By that means alone can the great command of the Saviour be literally obeyed, "to preach the gospel to every creature." Foreign Missionaries can never be sustained by the churches from whence they are sent forth, in adequate numbers to accomplish the purpose. They might, indeed, make the tour of heathen countries, and just "announce" in all the principal towns, and perhaps the villages too, of heathendom, "the glad tidings of great joy." But this would be a measure most cursory, most superficial, and most unsatisfactory. The history of Providence does not justify the hope that any great good should accrue from such a scheme; it is not in the nature of the case that any could reasonably be anticipated. There needs the reiterated exposition of Divine truth—"the line upon line, and precept upon

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precept." There needs the stated and continuous employment of wisely-adapted means, in the same localities; and, usually, it is even then only after a considerable period has elapsed that attention is aroused, inquiry awakened, prejudices neutralized, and the great change accomplished in which old things pass away and all things become new.

To provide this permanent agency for the ministry of the gospel throughout the world, is the object of the most anxious solicitude on the part of all the intelligent friends and supporters of Christian Missions. They seek to gather, in the first instance, converts into the fold of Christ, and then from those converts to select and train men who shall be competent "to teach others also." The history of Christian Missions for the past fifty years demonstrates the wisdom and necessity of the measure; its wisdom, because where tried it is found effectual; its necessity, because the existing pecuniary contributions of foreign churches do not accomplish very much beyond that of sustaining their present European agency, and *that* is not advancing to any great extent, or in any rapid manner, on the remaining regions of heathenism.

The employment of native agency is coeval with the history of Christianity. The apostles gave instruction as to the ordination of men to be the ministers in the several states and towns which they had visited, and where they had planted Christianity. Corinth had its own "teachers," "helps, and workers of miracles:" from among the Thessalonians "sounded out the word of the Lord through Macedonia and Achaia;" and the seven churches of Asia had respectively their own presiding ministers.

Modern Missionary Societies have all proceeded on the same principle, to some extent. They have successfully employed native teachers and evangelists in a subordinate capacity; and in a few instances they have been ordained as pastors of native Christian communities. And *this* is the consummation to be kept in view. Every measure up to that point must be regarded as only subsidiary and

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preparatory. The most efficient and successful Missionary, therefore, is not the man who may have his three hundred, five hundred, or a thousand converts around him as a flourishing Christian community, but the man who, from amidst his converts can find and train "men for the work of the ministry and the edifying of the body of Christ."

These native churches and pastors may still require the aid and counsel of the more experienced and better-instructed European Missionary; and whatever arrangements are made for providing native churches with native ministers, the foreign aid found requisite for their stability and progress must for the time be furnished. That, however, merely leaves the question of their entire independence to be a question of time. The principle itself is fairly involved. There may be an excess of cautious solicitude in preparing native churches for this measure. We must stand prepared for some defects, irregularities, and failures in the system; but to postpone the adoption of it till there is almost a demonstration that it will work without any danger, is to expect a result without the previous process: it is equivalent to expecting men to be proficient in an art without ever exercising it—a Raphael, without having touched a pencil.

Impressed with views of this nature, the London Missionary Society has for a long time directed its attention to Theological Seminaries, and has established them in British India, China, the South Sea Islands, and Africa. The Institution at Hankey has been arranged for the same purpose, and it is confidently hoped it may render essential service. Its locality is favourable. Its advantages are many, and the Missionaries stationed there are eminently qualified for the office of instructors. As yet, not many natives have availed themselves of these advantages. A few have, and also the sons of Missionaries in the colony —a class from which the Society has engaged the services of some valuable and efficient men. The present unsettled state of the colony, owing to the new Kaffir War, is

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altogether unfavourable to these objects. The attention is diverted to other things. Bad passions are awakened; families are scattered; young men of promise are drawn off for a militia—evil communications corrupt their manners; and a scene that might have bloomed like Eden, is smitten, withered, and ruined.

Hankey is about eighteen miles from Kruis Fontein, and it is then sixty-five miles further to Port Elizabeth. The road is difficult, but the scenery, which is pleasing, begins to improve soon after leaving Kruis Fontein; and for some miles before reaching the lands of the Institution at Hankey, there is much to gratify. On the right, at the distance of twenty or twenty-five miles, may be seen the white sandy beach near St. Francis Bay, and on the left the Kouga Hills, a spur of a great line of mountains running east and west of this part of South Africa. The "Cock's Comb," seen on the road to Hankey, is about six or seven thousand feet high, and is one of the highest points in the range. The lands of the Institution, as we advance towards the village, are rich in botany. The low lands are alluvial, and the soil is rich, and is covered with various kinds of bushes, with the graceful mimosas, splendid proteas and euphorbias, geraniums, aloes, Cape olives, &c.

The spot where the desolating inundation of October, 1847, occurred, is marked by its deposit of white sand, over which, however, vegetation is beginning to appear. On the higher ground, to which the waters did not ascend, may be seen the new village rising, and the Mission premises, which stood there previously, constituting the most prominent object. There is a cheerfulness about the whole scene. The neatly-built and whitewashed cottages exhibit indications of advancing civilization, comfort, and prosperity. The chapel stands on a summit opposite to the eminence on which the Mission-house is built, and a small stream,—"Klein River,"—with its rustic bridge, runs between the two elevations. The view from the Mission

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premises is extensive, bold, rich, and varied. The gardens of the people cannot be made contiguous to their cottages, which are built on high ground, but they are laid out in a suitable spot, at a moderate distance; and even in the dry season they look well. There is a knoll at a short distance from the Mission premises, and which is well wooded. It has some splendid specimens of the yellow-wood tree—a species of yew. It is appropriated as a burial-place for the deceased members of the Institution. The ashes of Mrs. Philip, and her son, the Rev. William Philip, and her grandchild, son of John Fairbairn, Esq., repose calmly there. It is the "Machpelah" of Dr. Philips' family, and shall give forth its tenants, on the morning of the resurrection, arrayed in beauty and immortality.

Limestone is found on the lands of the Institution. There is a kiln belonging to a native, and I found him busily pursuing his occupation—and no mean sight,—a Hottentot preparing lime for the lands of the farmers. His wagon stood by, on which he had brought the stone from the quarry: he and another man were breaking it into small lumps, feeding the kiln, and heaping on the wood. The farmers purchase the lime as manure, and the man maintains his family in comfort.

I accompanied the Rev. T. D. Philip to see the "tunnel," for the repairs of which, after the inundation, an appeal was made to friends in England in April, 1848. That inundation was occasioned by the fall of heavy torrents of rain, about a week previously, in the neighbourhood of the sources of the "Gamtoos," and by which it became suddenly and fearfully enlarged. At Hankey, it rose from thirty to forty feet above its ordinary level. It proved fatal to thirteen of the people,* and destroyed much pro-

* An affecting account of these circumstances was published in the "Missionary Chronicle" of April, 1848. A Christian Hottentot who escaped, relates that he and fifteen others (six women and ten men), perceiving their danger, rushed to a spot of rising ground, and

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perty. Great injury was done to the tunnel. A vast mass of the superincumbent rock fell in, having been undermined by the swollen river. The face of the rock was left bare some sixty or eighty feet. About 5000 cubic yards of matter fell in. The people, however, did not despond. Aided by prompt and liberal contributions, they began the necessary repairs, and within a year and a day of the calamity they were completed, and the tunnel re-opened.

The accompanying Chart of Hankey will convey an

there "stood speechless, looking at one another; the water rose above their waists. Lucas," said he, "never spoke another word, but I never allowed my heart to fail me. I bound up a mat for my wife, and told her to keep it across her chest, and she would be able to keep her head above water till help came. I then took up my mother, and held her in my arms till I could hold her no longer. She was the first carried away. Then Lucas drifted from us, and sunk at once. My wife had drifted away while I was holding my mother up, and she got the mat under one arm instead of across her chest, so that she was turned over and over with it, till she was carried out of my sight among the thorn-trees. The boy, Carl Baan, went to the three Smits, from one to another, now holding his mother up as he saw her sinking, then his little sister, till they all sunk. I saw a roof floating towards me, and resolved to try to reach it; I did—Sarah and Carl Baan were following not far off. I drew a lath out of the roof, Carl grasped it, and I drew him up on the roof. Sarah called out 'Help me, dear uncle!' She was just sinking a second time, when I placed the lath so that she seized it with her finger and thumb, and I pulled her also on the roof.

"At this time, Lydia, old Lucas's wife, was floating on a mat, about thirty yards from me. She now commenced singing the hymn, 'Jezus neemt de zondaars aan.' ('Jesus receiveth sinners.') And when she had sung it through, exclaiming, 'O great God!' she laid her head down upon the mat, as upon a pillow, and sunk.

"The time passed by very heavily, but in the evening I heard, in answer to one of our cries, 'Yes, help is now on the way to you.' I thought, as I sat upon the roof, of Noah in the Ark, but felt it was not because I was a righteous man like Noah, that God had saved me. I wondered why I had been saved, and others, better than myself, allowed to perish. I wept with excitement at my deliverance."

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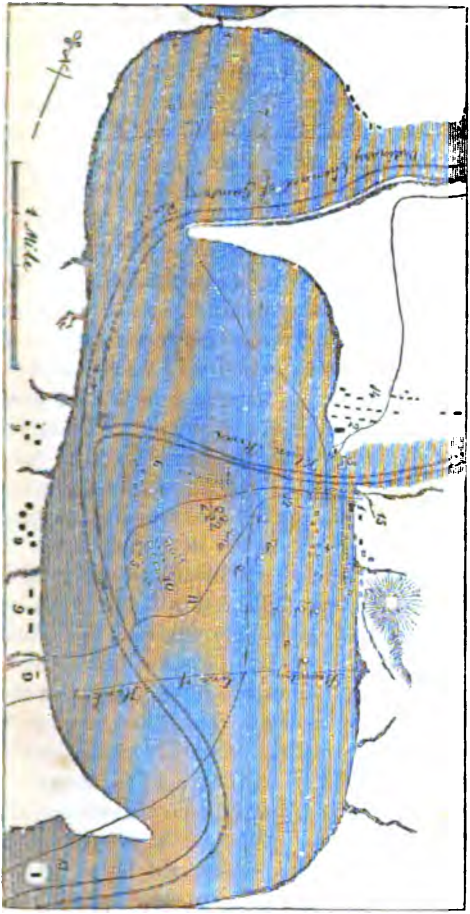

accurate idea of the extent of the inundation, and the position of Hankey in relation to the Klein and Gamtoos rivers.

The tunnel is a large excavation through a rock of conglomerate, of an exceedingly hard and solid texture. It is about two hundred and sixty yards in length, and from three to six feet in width. The height is about five or six feet nearly all through, though in a *few* places it does not exceed four. The opening into the tunnel on

The dark portion of the Chart indicates the space on which the flood extended, and the figures chiefly denote the various buildings which were either surrounded or overthrown by the accumulated waters. Fig. 1 marks the position of the Mission-house. 2. The Chapel. 3, 4, 5, 6. Houses of the people. 8. The tunnel. 9. Fingoe and Hottentot huts. 10. The spot where the sixteen persons already mentioned stood for several hours, and of whom three only were finally saved.

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the side of the river is within a few feet of the main current. The Gamtoos is a river of considerable magnitude, and winds between the hills in the vicinity of the Institution. It has a sufficient fall to admit of the irrigation of the lands at Hankey to a large extent, simply by means of this tunnel, and then still further by carrying the water, by a suspended aqueduct, over a lower part in the bend of the river itself. There is a fall of above forty feet from the place where the tunnel leads the water out, to the spot where it again falls into the stream. Some strong stone and brick breastworks are being made at the mouth of the tunnel, to prevent its being washed away in case of the recurrence of a flood; and for a considerable depth the tunnel itself is now arched over, by strong timbers that do not decay in water. The upper portion of the rock consists of an immense layer of hard and fine-grained sandstone, out of which blocks are taken and rolled down the hill to form the breastwork at its base, around the sides of the entrance to the tunnel.

From the comparative level of the river and the tunnel, there would seem to be little difficulty in leading out, as Mr. W. Philip, who designed the work, remarked, the whole of the river, so as to irrigate a very large piece of the country.

The bed of the river is now comparatively small, but the appearance of the country indicates that there must once have been a large river spreading over the whole valley, and reaching from these hills on the one side to those on the other. This intermediate valley consists of an extremely rich alluvial deposit. The earth brings forth abundantly—it gives seed to the sower and bread to the eater. The hand of the industrious is made rich. I have been informed that some portions of the land in this neighbourhood have yielded not merely thirtyfold, sixtyfold, or a hundredfold, but so high as a thousandfold. Of course, manure is neither used nor required.

I found the thermometer here in June, in the shade, 32 deg. in the morning, 66 deg. at eleven o'clock, and 92 deg. at one o'clock.

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With regard to education, I find the remark correct, that these people learn readily while young. Their capacities are developed early, and they make fair progress according to the means of instruction employed, and the pains which they can be induced to take. But they do not proceed very far. There is little ultimate development beyond the early stages. Mind then seems to become stagnant, and, unless a powerful stimulant from without is applied, no farther progress is made, or even attempted. It may be, that, in progress of time, as one generation gains something in advance of the preceding, and comes more under the influence of the Gospel and religious institutions, they may advance much more than they do at present.

One thing is very clear, that, excepting as they now come under the influence of religion, there is but little of mental effort or mental improvement. The fear of the Lord is literally, in a very important sense, the beginning of wisdom: it teaches men the value of mind and of mental effort—it strengthens and elevates the powers of thinking—it brings the greatest subjects home to the mind and heart—and it secures that self-command and self-respect which are so essential to intellectual improvement. Would that the friends of knowledge and education in England would aid more abundantly in the prosecution of this great work! I often grieved when I looked at the bare walls of these schools! How very limited is the provision of the means of improvement! How few and trifling the ostensible inducements to effort!—a card with A B C, a few spelling-books, and some copies of the New Testament! These are about all the apparatus in most of the schools. Some have a map, and some, perhaps, two; as here at Hankey, the Map of Palestine and the Map of Europe, but that is all! not a picture on science or natural history of any kind. The Missionary Society cannot be blamed for not providing these materials. Their funds are not equal to these objects; but I feel sure that there are wealthy

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friends in Great Britain who would help, if they knew the need that exists for their assistance.

We held a Missionary Meeting one evening during my visit. About two hundred and fifty persons sat down to tea. It was well conducted, and all seemed happy in the enjoyment of the evening. We had several English pieces sung, and I may add, well sung. Many of the natives here have excellent voices. There is much harmony,—a quick perception of the beauty of tune, but not much practical idea of time. Mr. Philip, himself a good singer, and acquainted with the science of singing, is doing much to improve the congregational psalmody. Several of the men spoke at the meeting with much ease and good sense. I had, as usual, urged on them to contribute more towards supporting their own ministry and schools. They admitted the force of all this, and expressed their desire to relieve the Society of pecuniary outlays so far as they could. But they pleaded, and with much truth, the losses which they had sustained by the calamitous inundation—the necessity of rebuilding their houses—their want of grazing-ground for the cattle,—and the large amount they have to pay to neighbouring farmers, on whose grounds their cattle trespass, and by whom they are impounded. We referred to the design and desirableness of building a new chapel. It seemed to me scarcely worth while to expend much money in repairing or enlarging the present unsightly chapel. It would be much better to make an effort to build a new one, and keep the old place for a schoolroom. Bricks could be made on the spot, and lime obtained on the Institution. Timber is within easy reach; and thus the expense of a new chapel would not be very formidable,—say £300 for a place 75 ft. by 28 ft. or to 30 ft.

In the course of a day or two, the overseers of the village met, and talked over with us the subject of the new chapel, addition to their grazing-grounds, the rental of an adjoining farm, the charge to be made for the right of grazing their oxen; and the result seemed to be, that efforts

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should be forthwith made to obtain a new chapel. The people will provide the bricks, about 150,000, and worth 12s. per 1000, amounting in value to £90 or £100. I proposed that the Society should allow them to apply to the object the year's Auxiliary amount of subscriptions, and make them a contribution by way of practical encouragement. There are upwards of one hundred members in church-fellowship, and many are in the class of inquirers, affording ground to hope that they are the subjects of genuine religion. The people are usually all fond of religious ordinances. In fact, there is some danger of their placing religion itself in a mere attendance on the forms of worship, substituting outward decorum for spiritual devotion. Hence their anxiety to be received as members of the church, perhaps in too early a stage of their religious thoughts and impressions. It has been remarked, that the difficulty of a faithful and judicious pastor of a Missionary Church, consists rather in restraining the people from joining the church at too early a stage of their religious profession, than in gathering large and imposing numbers to the visible fold. The opposite plan of admitting all persons on reaching maturity, and who can repeat certain formularies, is adopted in the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran Churches in the colony. The inherent evils of this system are sufficiently obvious. Men are tempted to consider themselves "Christians" in virtue of this visible connexion with the church. In the absence even of those indications of the spiritual life which the Scriptures of the New Testament invariably exhibit as pre-requisites to church-fellowship—namely, "repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ"—men are apt to regard themselves, merely by a decent and orderly attendance on the ordinances of religion, as among the favoured and covenanted people of God. This state of things renders it the more essential that churches of a more scriptural character and discipline should be sustained and encouraged, as witnesses for spiritual Chris-

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tianity, and that their rules for the admission of members, although apparently stringent, should not be relaxed for the sake of the *éclat* that might attend the report of larger numbers. The real strength of a living church consists not in the quantity, but the quality of its materials. The gold, the silver, and the precious stones will last, and endure the "trial by fire," when the wood and hay and stubble shall be utterly consumed.

On leaving Hankey, I proceeded to Bethelsdorp. Much of the scenery in the neighbourhood is exceedingly beautiful, and admits comparison in some places with that of Kaffirland in its glens and wooded hills. I had sent forward my wagon the previous evening. I intended it to have gone forward earlier in the day; but when the oxen were wanted, they had strayed, and could not be found. This is a difficulty and annoyance of no unusual occurrence, wherever, for the sake of grazing, the cattle are left to roam over lands that cannot easily or without great expense be enclosed. Mr. Durant Philip and myself rode from Hankey—about twenty-five miles—on horseback, then overtook the wagon; and, aided by three relays of oxen kindly provided for our convenience, we managed to reach Bethelsdorp, without discomfort, before midnight; being the longest journey I made in Africa in one day—namely, sixty miles.

Mrs. Kitchingman, widow of our late valuable Missionary, Rev. John Kitchingman, and part of her family, were waiting to welcome us. Tea was refreshing—fitting beverage for an African traveller—and then a night's repose delightful.

In the course of the next day I proceeded to Port Elizabeth. The distance is only nine miles. The road furnishes little to interest the traveller. The geology in the neighbourhood of the bay is silurian. A coarse kind of slate may be seen cropping out. Near the beach is greywacke. Oolite is said to be in the neighbourhood of Zondag's River, and blue lias, rich in fossils, at no great dis-

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tance. The Maitland Lead and Copper Mines are about twenty miles distant, the ore of which is reported by some to be equal to that of the Burra Mines in South Australia.

There is a simple Monument on this hill, which rises above the town, raised by Sir Rufane Donkin, to the memory of his departed wife, Lady Elizabeth Donkin. On a tablet facing the sea is the brief inscription:—

TO THE MEMORY
OF THE MOST PERFECT
OF HUMAN BEINGS,
WHO GAVE HER NAME
TO THE TOWN BELOW.

Port Elizabeth is a rising and important town. It stands on the margin of Algoa Bay. The Bay is not without its disadvantages for shipping. The south-east wind creates a tremendous surf, and cuts off communication between the vessels and the beach. It is a roadstead, and wants good anchorage and greater facilities for loading and unloading. European enterprise and perseverance will ultimately overcome its difficulties, and reward the patient toil of the colonist. The population has considerably increased during the last twelve years, chiefly by immigrants from England and Scotland. Port Elizabeth is acquiring the appearance of an English town, but could not well be mistaken for a town in England. Its newly-built houses and shops remind one of the mother country, but instantly the wagons, with their long spans of enyoked oxen—twelve, fourteen, sixteen to a team,—the smacking of enormous whips—the hard-working but miserably-clothed Fingoes in the streets, and grim-visaged Aborigines from other parts of the colony, remind the traveller that he is yet in South Africa. There are excellent mercantile stores. There is a vigorous and intelligent press, and much public spirit. A tower is being added to the English church, that will greatly improve its appearance. The Wesleyan chapel is a neat and modest building.

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The Independent chapel makes no pretensions to architectural beauty; but a new chapel is in course of erection that will do honour to the taste and liberality of the Nonconformist body.

For this latter object I found that plans and estimates were being obtained. The outlay was expected to be about £2000. Half the amount was already raised, and the whole, I have no doubt, will shortly be forthcoming. The parties identified with this movement have hitherto attended the ministry of Rev. A. Robson, who has ministered also in the Dutch language to the coloured population. Far too large an amount of service has thus been thrown on Mr. Robson. It will be a great advantage to all to have this additional place of worship, with its own minister, sustained by local efforts, and Mr. Robson left at liberty to continue and even increase his efficient services on behalf of the coloured people, who have sometimes been in danger of thinking themselves a little "overlooked in the ministrations," from the demands made on the Missionary by the English congregation.

Port Elizabeth is an important station for the London Missionary Society, as the most direct point of communication with its stations on the frontier and beyond the boundaries.

In company with Mr. Passmore, I called at some of the Fingoe houses or huts in the native village, on the hill, and where about three hundred of them reside. Several of the huts presented an appearance of comfort far beyond my expectations. In structure they are all hemispherical. At a little distance they resemble immense bee-hives. The principal one was about twenty-seven feet in diameter. They admit of division inside, by matting. A window-tax could not well be imposed there, for of windows there are none. The doors seem intended for a race of dwarfs, rather than of giants. They seldom exceed three or four feet in height. The floor is hard and clean. The Governor has wished them to build "square houses." The

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superiority of a square to a circle is not self-manifest, at any rate, to the Fingoe, while the difficulty of obtaining *materials* for houses of a different description is constantly felt. Probably, if their huts are sufficiently large, kept clean, and decently partitioned, they answer the purposes of a migratory people as well as houses of a European character. Few of the people contemplate remaining long on the spot. They are a grazing people, and all of them naturally anxious to possess cattle; but as sufficient pasturage cannot be found in the neighbourhood of the Bay, they retire to some other part of the colony, or proceed further into the interior, as soon as they have converted their wages into small flocks and herds. Many of the Fingoes retain their avowed heathenism, and do not attend the religious services of the Missionaries or colonists. The huts, dress, and appearance of these are invariably inferior to their fellow-countrymen who come under the influence of Christian instruction. The moral character of the Fingoes at the Bay has undergone a very serious deterioration during the last two years, principally through the increased facilities afforded them of obtaining ardent spirits. The number of licensed "canteens" has been considerably augmented, and these profit by the ample wages of these new victims of intoxication. Formerly they hoarded, with miserly care, their hard-earned wages. A large portion of these wages is now expended in the canteen, and the result is fatal to their improvement. Many of them, it has been remarked, are sinking into a lower state of mental degradation than belonged to them while living in the benighted interior.

Not a few, however, of the Fingoes still conduct themselves with great propriety, and are at once decent and useful members of society. They are desirous of instruction, attend public worship, and observe the Sabbath. About twenty-five or thirty of them have become members of the Christian church under the care of Rev. A. Robson, and conduct themselves as consistently with a Christian

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profession, as other bodies of Christians. "Some who were grasping, selfish, and avaricious, now contribute liberally towards the cause of religion; and some, in the immediate prospect of death, have, through humble faith in the Redeemer, satisfactorily given a reason of the hope that was in them."

The Fingoe congregation in connexion with our Society at the Bay, contributed towards its funds, during the year 1850, £24 2*s.* 2*d.*; and it deserves to be recorded, that when a Kaffir newspaper was started lately (by the Wesleyans), no less than seventeen Fingoes at the Bay became subscribers to it, and evinced much interest in it! Such men are surely worth an effort to civilize and Christianize them; and the effort is not fruitless.

With regard to the history of these Fingoes, it may be remarked that they are the remnants of various tribes, which were routed and destroyed by those great South African marauders and Zoolu despots, Chaka and Dingaan. They obtained permission from the late Hintza, the Kaffir chief, to locate themselves within his territory, where they found employment as herdsmen. They acquired considerable property in cattle. Many of them suffered much from the Kaffirs, and ultimately they came out of Kaffirland by the consent of Hintza, and were admitted within the colony by permission of the Governor, his Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban. About 15,000 thus came within the colonial limits. Many of these are settled in the new district of Victoria, and constitute a portion of the native tribes under the control and direction of Mr. Calderwood, Civil Commissioner at Alice. The native tribes within his jurisdiction amount to about 50,000, exclusive of the independent Kaffirs. Great numbers of them also settled in the district of the Zitzikamma, by permission of the Colonial Government. It is reported that they had 10,000 head of cattle with them on passing through Uitenhage to the district just mentioned. The pasturage there did not suit the cattle; and their flocks for the most part perished.

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A Moravian Station has been opened there for their benefit, called, in honour of the well-known advocate of the abolition of slavery, "Clarkson."

From Port Elizabeth I returned to Bethelsdorp. It would be unnecessary here to repeat the history at length of the Institution at Bethelsdorp, which has now existed for fifty years, and has been so frequently placed before the British public. It may be sufficient to remark, that the land was originally obtained for its use from the Dutch Government of the colony, when under General Jansens, on the application of that eminent man, and talented and indefatigable, though somewhat eccentric Missionary, Dr. Vanderkemp. The congregation amounts to about three hundred, and the members of the church to one hundred. There is an infant school of sixty children, taught by Miss Kitchingman, and a day-school, having the same number of scholars, under the care of the Missionary, Rev. Joseph Kitchingman.

On the lands of the Institution there is a Salt-pan of considerable extent and value. It is situated about two miles from the village, and has formed a principal source of income to the people. They could not have subsisted on the lands of the Institution. These are poor and insufficiently watered. They are fit neither for much grazing nor agriculture. The stream which passes through them is adequate only for domestic uses. "Good measure, running over," has never been the character of the grants made by the Government in favour of these people. The Salt-pan has been of service to them. It is nearly two miles in length, and about four in circumference. The salt forms a crust or deposit on the soil, under the water, about a quarter or half an inch in thickness. This is scraped together in heaps, and carefully washed from impurities, in water found on the spot. It is then taken to the margin of the lake and placed in heaps, where it is sold to farmers for manure, or conveyed to Port Elizabeth, where it is both used for home consumption and exporta-

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tion. At the time of my visit, about 10,000 bushels had been produced and disposed of within the past five months, and about 4000 bushels were ready for sale. The salt belongs to the people generally,—that is to say, to any of them who go to work at the pan and collect it. Its price was 1*s.* 6*d.* per muid (containing four measures of a foot square each). The amount sold within the time mentioned has therefore brought in £400. About forty families have been thus employed, realizing £10 each. About the same may be expected again by the expiration of the year. There is not much profit in this. The time and labour consumed in obtaining it, and then the expense of carriage by ox wagons to the Bay, absorb all the gain. If the people were provident, or could be induced to keep the salt in store for a time, they might often realize double and treble the price. As it is, they overstock the market, and then obtain prices which do not remunerate them.

There are about thirty or forty good, substantial houses, built of brick or stone, in the village of Bethelsdorp, and most of them are neatly whitewashed. Several have windows, and contain a moderate supply of furniture. They are clean and comfortable. The aloe-trees (of medicine) abound here, and have produced a considerable revenue to the people. It is said they now require to be left standing a year or so untouched,—having been cut and drained, and exhausted of their virtue rather too copiously and unintermittingly. A fresh stock should be planted, so as to secure crops in succession. I recommended Mr. Kitchingman to have two or three of the more intelligent natives associated with him, and to form a "Committee of Improvement," which should consult on all matters affecting the general interest and prosperity of the Station. Limestone is also found on the estate, and might be burnt and sold among the farmers as a source of profit. There are also some indications of coal in the neighbourhood.

In the year 1820, Thomas Pringle, the poet, visited Bethelsdorp. He has given, in his admirable "Narrative of

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a Residence in South Africa," the following graphic description of his visit:—"I attended the evening service of the Missionary in the rustic chapel. The demeanour of the audience was attentive and devout, and their singing of the Missionary hymns singularly pleasing and harmonious. I saw before me the remnant of an aboriginal race to whom this remote region, now occupied by white colonists, had at no distant period belonged. As I sat and listened to the soft and touching melody of the female voices, or gazed on the earnest, upturned swarthy countenances of the aged men, who had probably spent their early days in the wild freedom of nomadic life, and worn out their middle life in the service of the colonists, it was pleasing to think, that *here*, and in a few other institutions such as this, the Christian humanity of Europe had done something to alleviate European oppression, by opening Asylums where, at least, *a few* of the race were enabled to escape from personal thraldom, and to emerge from heathen darkness into the glorious light and liberty of the Gospel."

Many of my impressions, while I was among them, were similar to those expressed in this quotation.

But with all that I found satisfactory and encouraging, there was still wanting the earnestness that presses on to "perfection." The natives seem to me to rest satisfied with doing just *something*, but leaving off far too soon. The block is hewn from the quarry, but the statue is not finished. They would lay the foundation of a pyramid, but never reach the apex. This is, perhaps, the natural tendency of the Hottentot mind, but it has given a colouring to everything around them. Institutions, teachers, and Missionaries, are in danger of being infected by it. Here, at Bethelsdorp, is a good chapel, but no flooring. The people have floored their school-room, but the chapel remains cold, damp, and cheerless. These little things are significant. They indicate character. There is a radical evil, and it lies in the constitutional defect and timidity of the Hottentot. Physically, also, they are not a strong and vigor-

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ous race. Many of them labour under some disease of the chest. They are extremely susceptible of colds and coughs; they complain of "pain in the side," and die of consumption

It is impossible to conceal one's fears for the ultimate existence of most of the coloured races in South Africa; I mean those, in the first instance, within the colony, and those in the neighbourhood of places where the emigrant Boers have lately settled. The lands of the native tribes become gradually encroached on; jealousies and animosities, wars and retaliations, arise: the native tribes are driven back, lose their property, their lands, their courage; they fall back on other tribes, where they encounter more or less resistance, become weaker and weaker, and the white man advances, and absorbs the whole!

The only means of averting the evil,—and surely it is an evil that might be averted,—seems to be, the elevation of the people by instruction, combined with such an equitable treatment of them as may convince them that we are their *friends*, and not their *enemies*, and thus, instead of being disposed to employ their newly acquired knowledge *against* us, in defending ther rights as against aggression, they may be induced to cultivate our friendship, seek our protection, imitate our Institutions, and learn our religion.

The juvenile native population now under our instruction should be *well* and *carefully* trained, so as to render them a respectable and intelligent portion of the community. And the natives should be encouraged to become independent landowners, especially where they have character and energy to profit by such advantages.

Having expressed these sentiments, this may be the proper place to add, that my firm conviction is, if our relations with these coloured tribes were only conducted on the broad and honourable principles of Christianity, there would be little to apprehend as to any fatal collision between the white and coloured races. There is not a line in revelation to justify the assumption that the coloured races are doomed to perish in presence of the white races,

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and to make room for them. It is utterly incompatible with the benevolent ordinations of Providence, so far as they are known, to suppose that any such dire necessity exists. Those men proceed from the same original stock of the human family as ourselves, and are made of "one blood." Ten thousand instances can be adduced of their capability of receiving instruction and civilization. There wants only the noble and generous determination to do them no wrong in our treatment of them and our dealings with them. Our superior knowledge should not unworthily be employed in taking any unfair advantage of them, but righteously employed in devising the means of their welfare in conjunction with our own. This were a noble service for Great Britain to attempt! It may involve difficult problems; but Great Britain has lofty minds that can solve difficult problems, and noble hearts that can aid in the solution of great questions, where a nation's honour, a nation's morality, and a nation's Christianity are all involved.

With regard to this Institution of ours at Bethelsdorp, it is but candid to say, that for some time past affairs had not been in the most satisfactory state. All this could be accounted for: the disturbances created by the Kaffir War of 1846-47, had proved injurious, and the declining health and debility of the late Missionary had partially disqualified him for the active efforts wanted. No additions had been lately made to the Church. The congregation had remained stationary. Happily, indeed, no cases of flagrant immorality had occurred, nor any cases requiring the exercise of church discipline; but still, the general state of things indicated declension, lifelessness, and decay. I endeavoured to revive what I found faint and languid. That was the object of my address to the members of the Church, at the Lord's table, on the Sunday. I delivered also an address in English, on the Monday evening, in the school-room, where upwards of one hundred persons, chiefly from the age of sixteen to twenty-five, attended,

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and who, I think, understood English sufficiently to comprehend my address. Next day a public meeting was held, and well attended. All the men belonging to the Institution were present. I distinctly stated the claims which the Society had on them for more liberal contributions. I urged the fact that, after forty-five to fifty years' labour among them, and a vast expenditure of resources during that period, they had not, strictly speaking, contributed anything towards the diffusion of the Gospel among the heathen tribes; for though their Auxiliary had sometimes raised as much as £100 per annum, a much larger sum than that had always been expended by the Society on Bethelsdorp: their contributions, therefore, had, in effect, come back among themselves. I adverted to their greatly improved condition, as compared with former times, their present means of support, and the circumstances of comfort in which they were placed, by means of their oxen, wagons, salt-pan, and supply of aloes. I urged on them the necessity of improving the appearance of the place, the houses, gardens, farms, &c.; these being the things that would strike the attention of the traveller, and official men in the colony, and which gave, in fact, a character to the inhabitants themselves. Several of the men spoke in reply, and with good effect. They acquitted themselves well. They expressed themselves with intelligence, force, and feeling. I had put the question to them as preliminary to all our proceedings, whether, in their judgment, Bethelsdorp ought any longer to be retained as an Institution, or whether the time had not come, when the lands might in some way be given back to the Government. I wished them to state their own thoughts and wishes on this subject. To *this* point, therefore, they directed their responses with great energy, strongly deprecating the idea of Bethelsdorp being relinquished, and earnestly requesting that it might be retained. Three resolutions were then passed; one, of *thankfulness* to the Society for its exertions during so many

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years on their behalf, and, above all, to God, who had raised up such a Society; a second, of *earnest desire* that the Institution might be maintained; and a third, of *promise* to aid it by enlarged contributions.

A paper was then filled with their names as contributors. They came forward and promised what they would give during the year. Many promised £2; others, £1 10*s.*; others, £1; and others, smaller sums. Mr. Kitchingman assured me, that he had no doubt nearly all these would fulfil their promises, and that they had the means of doing so. The sum total promised at the morning meeting amounted to about £90; a few others still intended putting down their names, and the aggregate might be considered as £100. This would be exclusive of their usual monthly and annual collections.

Another meeting of the people was held during my visit, in relation to some of the secular arrangements of the Institution. There is what is termed the "Algemeene Werk"—a public service, such as keeping roads, fences, &c., in repair. Usually, the people have all given Monday, through the year, to these objects. This is equivalent to a cost of £240 a year, estimating the day's work at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and allowing for only sixty men on the Institution. This has occasioned great loss, many heart-burnings, and unnecessary altercations. It is now proposed that the people tax themselves, as at Hankey, and pay out of the sum raised for the actual work done. This seems to be a plan at once more economical and more equitable. The payment of a third of the sum now sacrificed, say sixpence per week, or £1 6*s.* during the year, would accomplish the object, and save to every man time for labour equal in value to £2 12*s.* per annum—a far larger amount than they now contribute to the parent Society.

Other important matters were brought under review, such as hiring part of a farm in the vicinity of Bethelsdorp, for grazing their cattle, and an attempt to obtain a better supply of water for the Institution, by means of boring.

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These and other points gravely affecting the welfare and advancement of the people will continue to share the attention of the Missionary who is now settled over them, with fair prospects of usefulness and comfort, and who is within reach of the judicious counsels of Dr. Philip at Hankey, with Messrs. D. Philip and J. Christie.

In the course of the next week (18th July) I left Bethelsdorp. The Rev. T. J. Paterson, Missionary at Uitenhage, had set out with two friends to meet me on my way thither. I accompanied them to Uitenhage, the principal town of the district of that name, eleven miles from Bethelsdorp. The situation of the place is admirable. It is a fertile spot, on the old red-sandstone formation, and well watered. The streets are wide, and at right angles with each other. Here are many excellent houses—some in the Dutch, and others in the English style. Small rivulets run down some of the streets on both sides, and keep the gardens well watered, and the trees fresh and flourishing. Among these are oaks, willows, oranges, peaches, and firs. I observed also the banana and almond. The whole aspect of the place is pleasing and reviving. The town occupies a large space, the houses being almost all detached, and all having gardens. There is a good church, stone-built, belonging to the Dutch Reformed Congregation, and of which Mr. Smith has been minister for more than twenty-five years; —an excellent man and indefatigable minister. The population is about five thousand, and consists half of white people, and half of coloured, including Fingoes, Bassutos, Hottentots, and mixed races.

On reaching the town (2 o'clock P. M.), I found the friends of the congregation of the London Missionary Society all busy with preparations for a *soirée* that evening, and which was intended as a mark of the esteem and respect they were desirous of showing me, as the deputation from the Society. Accordingly, at 6 o'clock, we met. About 400 sat down to tea. The Rev. Mr. Smith, of the Dutch Church, took the chair. Mr. Hall, Wesleyan

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minister, was with us, and Mr. Kitchingman, from Bethelsdorp. The body of the chapel was occupied with a cross table, very neatly and tastefully ornamented with flowers, and amply supplied with oranges and cakes; two immense chandeliers occupied the centre of the tables, gaily adorned with flowers. The singers occupied the galleries. After tea we had several addresses, and after each, a hymn, or some other piece of sacred composition, was sung; and, excepting that the voices were rather too powerful, the execution was excellent, under the guidance of Mr. Jones. In the course of the evening, oranges and cake were handed round, and later in the evening, coffee. The company broke up about 10 o'clock—all delighted, I think, with the Christian spirit that had pervaded the meeting, and the animated appearance and kindly character of the whole scene. The assembly consisted almost exclusively of persons of colour; but all were comfortably and even respectably dressed in European clothing. All the arrangements were well conducted, and I was gratified on learning that the whole had been managed by the people themselves. They paid one shilling each for tickets of admission, and devoted the surplus, after paying cost of provisions, &c., to the general funds connected with the congregation. They hold, annually, a similar meeting, usually about Christmas, in commemoration of the abolition of slavery, in which condition most of those present had been born, and out of which they had been, through British justice and benevolence, happily rescued. And how well they deserved emancipation, and how amply they have profited by their advantages in their new condition, the scene of social comfort, intelligence, order, and religion which I witnessed that evening, afforded me many and cheering illustrations, and made me wish, that everywhere, in both hemispheres, man were as free and as happy.

Next evening, we held a public meeting of the congregation. This gave me the desired opportunity of stating more fully and explicitly the objects of my visit, and the

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effective Missionary there would be as successful in raising the Institution as in former times.

At present it is placed under the vigilant superintendence of our Missionary, Rev. N. H. Smith, of Graham's Town, who pays it regular periodical visits. The people have promised to raise £50 per annum towards the expenses incurred by the Society. There is a congregation of about two hundred people. About one hundred and forty children attend the day and infant schools, and there are fifty members on the Church books.

Theopolis was in imminent danger during the Kaffir War of 1846-47. The Missionary who was there at the time, Rev. R. B. Taylor, now at Cradock, has given a graphic description of the circumstances, in the following terms:—

"The first attack on Theopolis, by the Kaffirs, took place on Monday night, April 26th. Rumours of their being in the neighbourhood had reached us some days previously. They had made a furious attack, on the 25th, on the camp formed at the residence of Mr. McLuckie, a farmer a few miles distant. The house being built of stone, they made no material impression on it, but swept off the whole of the cattle, amounting, it was said, to upwards of 1600. A little before sunset I observed three or four Kaffirs dodging about on the height west of the village, evidently making observations. These were pointed out to the commandant, Plaatje Bezuidenhout. He immediately set the watch, fully expecting an attack to be made that night. The women and children were placed, for greater security, some in the chapel, some in the infant school-house, and the rest in my dwelling-house. Within two hours after sunset an attack was made. It continued till about midnight, when they retired.

"At six o'clock next morning a patrool started as usual, and at about half-past nine sharp firing was heard behind a hill, in front of the village. It was evident that our patrool was engaged. All the able-bodied men proceeded to the spot whence the roll of musketry came; the aged and weakly posted themselves as guards on the rising ground above and around the village. The firing became terrific, and lasted till ten o'clock P. M. It soon after entirely ceased. An intense and painful solicitude was felt to know the result. A full hour elapsed ere anything occurred to relieve the suspense. At last a compact column was perceived moving over and descending the crown of the hill, which had concealed the combatants from view.

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The inquiry now arose—'But who are they?' By the aid of a telescope I could distinguish them, and I then told the anxious group about me, 'They are men *with clothes on*.' This instantly gave relief. 'Then they are *our* people,' instantly burst from every mouth; and soon we had the happiness to find that, although they had been opposed to upwards of one hundred foot and a dozen horsemen—double their own number—there was not only no one missing of our people, but not one wounded. Of the Kaffirs, eleven poor creatures had been shot, and many wounded. The Kaffirs, however, came down upon us again about eight in the evening, and continued fighting till nearly day-dawn next morning. None of our people were injured; but, from traces of blood on the ground, it was supposed several of the enemy had been wounded.

"Next night they attacked the camp of Dell, within three miles of the village, so that we had rest for that night from fighting, though not from anxiety and watching. Thursday they again came upon us, but from a different quarter, and were again beaten off. They renewed the attack at night, and this proved the most terrific and the most disastrous of all. The night was truly dreadful: through the treachery of some Kaffir women, to whom, as people in distress, we had a few days previously given refuge, our cattle kraal was opened in three several places, and the whole of the cattle driven out. The greater part were recaptured, but the Kaffirs got off with about three hundred and fifty head. Two of our people, Fingoes, were severely wounded, one with an assagai, the other with a bullet, of which wounds, a day or two afterwards, both died. One of these was a Christian—a man whom I had hoped would in a short time become very useful as a Catechist. The almost incessant fighting had expended nearly the whole of the ammunition. All communication with Graham's Town, the only place whence it could be obtained, was cut off. The Kaffirs were in force all around us, and flushed with their success. Nothing, in the usual course of things, offered, that could prevent the full execution of a threat put forth by the enemy at the beginning—'to take all the cattle, then kill all the men, destroy the buildings, and take the women for themselves.' This was pre-eminently our time of *need*. Prayer, that had not ceased to be offered from the commencement, now became the *only* hope of the pious.

"While hastily putting together necessary articles, in preparation for a proposed attempt to force our way through to Graham's Town, we received intelligence of the arrival of Colonel Somerset, with his division, in our immediate neighbourhood. A company of the Cape Corps was given as a guard for the night. Sabbath morning, the Colonel came to give us notice that it was his intention to remove all

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building in the hands of the minority. The London Missionary Society has also a chapel, where Mr. Smith ministers to a large coloured congregation. But a much larger place is needful. Their present chapel might have been sold lately at a large price, and a more spacious place obtained with the proceeds, but some delay occurred in obtaining from Cape Town the transfer deeds, on which alone the sale could be effected. An effort must yet be made to raise a subscription, and secure a Building Fund, so that ultimately the people may enjoy a place of worship capable of accommodating, say 800 persons.

During my stay in Graham's Town, I had a long conversation with Colonel, now General Somerset, who holds a high and influential position here, and who is recognised as a staunch friend of the coloured people, and of their legitimate claims and rights. The colony is much indebted to him for his prompt and vigorous service during the late war. It is thought by many that his promptness saved the colony—his movements were so rapid and successful. He has a high opinion of the steadiness and gallantry of his men. He commands the Cape Mounted Rifles. They are Hottentots. He highly appreciates their docile character; but he deems it most essential that they should be under constant and effective superintendence. Well trained and managed, they conduct themselves with excellent order and propriety; but neglected, and placed in the midst of temptation, they are too feeble to maintain their position. They have not, the Colonel thinks, any large amount of moral power. He alluded particularly to the snare of intoxication. He assured me that for eighteen months, during the war, and while having the command of from 3500 to 5000 men, he had no cases of insubordination—no cases requiring punishment—which he attributed to the fact of there being no "canteens" within reach, and no brandy or any ardent spirits being permitted to be introduced among his men. Now, indeed, within the colony, and within the town, he finds it impos-

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sible to prevent the evil. So many canteens are licensed, that the men have easy access to them, and the vice of intoxication has become common. He has now sometimes one hundred cases of discipline in the course of a day, from this source alone, and is obliged to submit to the evil of having a "canteen" within his barracks, as a less evil than that of allowing his soldiers to absent themselves in quest of the "grog-shops" in the town. The Colonel's testimony goes far to prove, that the system of so extensively granting licenses for the sale of ardent spirits, is fast ruining the labouring population of the colony. It aids the revenue, but destroys the men—their character, their self-respect, their morals, and their health.

There is a native village at a short distance from the town, where several Hottentots reside, and at a short distance, some Fingoes. I called on some of the former. The occupants are intelligent men—industrious, sober, and deserving of encouragement. But they are anxious, naturally anxious, as to their position. They have been encouraged to build, with the promise of having the lands measured out and secured to them. This was a promise made by the late Mr. West, subsequently Governor of Natal, while residing as Commissioner at Graham's Town. On the faith of that promise they have built, but have not yet obtained the promised security. They fear to go on with their improvements, and others also are afraid to commence. This ought not to be: the people should be dealt with fairly, kindly, and paternally; and every promise made to them by the Government should be strictly fulfilled.

I owe it to the spontaneous and kindly feeling of the friends in Graham's Town, to add, that they did me the honour of holding a public tea-meeting, to which they invited me, and which was very numerously and respectably attended, by members of all the Christian denominations in the town, and gentlemen of the highest standing in the community. It gave me a favourable impression of

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the social character of the people, and afforded me the opportunity, not only of hearing the sentiments of those who spoke in the course of the evening, but of giving expression to my own, on the responsibility of British colonists and Christians to the coloured and aboriginal races.

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CHAPTER IV.

NOTICES OF THE COUNTRY—DISTRICT OF VICTORIA—NEUTRAL TERRITORY—MAKOMO—BRITISH KAFFRARIA—FORT BEAUFORT—UMXELO—FINGOES—ATTACK ON FORT BEAUFORT, DEATH OF HERMANUS—DIFFICULTIES OF MISSIONARIES—MESSRS. READ—BIRKLANDS—AMATOLA MOUNTAINS—MR. CALDERWOOD—"ALICE"—"LOVEDALE"—MISSIONS IN KAFFIRLAND TO BE PROSECUTED—CHUMIE MOUNTAINS—BURN'S HILL—LOSS OF COMMISSARIAT—HOTTENTOT COURAGE—KAFFIR CHARACTER—"KNAPP'S HOPE"—IRRIGATION—AGRICULTURE SUPERSEDING WAR—LIMITED LOCATIONS—WAR BREAKS OUT—KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—COMPANIONS—MR. BROWNLEE'S LOSSES, NO COMPENSATION—CONGREGATION, DESIRE OF IMPROVEMENT—COLONEL MACKINNON—MOUNT COKE—STATE OF KAFFIRLAND—HOPES—SUSPICIONS—JAN TZATZOE—MR. ROSS, PERRIE—MR. BIRT'S STATION—YOUNG MEN'S CLASS—AGRICULTURAL EFFORTS—CLASS OF NATIVE WOMEN—HELP FROM ENGLAND.

My steps were now directed towards British Kaffraria, commonly called Kaffirland, and to the Kat River Settlement. I looked forward to both with great interest; to the former, as containing an immense body of aborigines, brought into close contact with the colonists, the effect of which remained to be seen; and to the latter, as the largest existing experiment in South Africa of an attempt to elevate an aboriginal race—the Hottentots.

I had to proceed, in the first instance, from Graham's Town to Fort Beaufort, afterwards to Alice and King William's Town. These are the three principal towns and seats of government, respectively in the district of Beaufort, the division of Victoria, and British Kaffraria.

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It may be of service to introduce here some brief notice of the part of the country now falling under observation.

The district of Beaufort, and the division of Victoria, belonged a few years ago to the Gaika tribe of the Kaffirs, and were occupied by them. Up to 1812, the Great Fish River was the eastern boundary of the colony; and, in fact, for seven years longer we put in no claim to the country beyond that river, although the colony had some misunderstandings with the Kaffirs there. In 1819, war broke out; and at its close, we arranged with Gaika, our ally, and some of the chiefs whom he had conquered, that neither Kaffirs nor colonists should occupy the land between the said Fish River and the Keiskamma. That land we then designated "Neutral Territory." In 1820, Sir Rufane Donkin annexed it to Albany, a colonial district, and called it in his proclamation "Newly-acquired Territory." But in 1823, Lord Charles Somerset withdrew that proclamation, and again made the Fish River the boundary beyond which the colonists were not to advance. Many Kaffirs were, however, allowed to settle on this piece of country, and they no doubt anticipated its ultimate restoration to them. This state of things continued up to 1829, though two years previously the Kaffirs were ordered to retire across the river. It was in the middle part of 1829, that Makomo, a Kaffir chief, a son of Gaika, was forcibly expelled: he was at that time occupying "Balfour," on the western side of the Kat River; he was driven with his people across that river, under pretence of punishing him for an attack on the Tambookies. His cattle were seized, and his kraal set on fire: he was thus expelled from the part of the country which we now include in what is designated Beaufort, and forced into a part of the country now called Victoria, and which at that time we called, together with Beaufort, the Neutral Territory. On the expulsion of Makomo, the Hottentots were located there, in the spot called the "Kat River Settlement," being a section of the district called Beaufort, and including all that fertile

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spot which is watered by the various streams that fall from the Winterberg into the Kat River.

The division of Victoria has a sea coast of about thirty-five miles. It lies between the Great Fish River up to the point where Kat River falls into it, and the Keiskamma up to the point where the Chumie falls into it. Its northern part is then continued between the said Kat River and the Chumie up to Makomo's Hill, by the foot of the Chumie Mountains and the Kat Berg to Gaika's Hill. Beyond that, again, it has a detached piece of territory, beyond the Winterberg, bounded by the Zwarte, or Black Kei, and the Klip Plaats Rivers. Here Mr. Shepstone is Assistant Commissioner for the Tambookie Tribes. Beyond this, and between the Zwarte Kei and the White Kei, is a piece of country over which we claim to exercise authority, sometimes called the Bushman Country, or Madoor's Country, and here Mr. Joseph Read has an appointment as Superintendent of native locations in the Bushman Country. Altogether, the natives falling within the Civil Commissionership of Mr. Calderwood may be about fifty thousand.

To the east of Victoria lies "British Kaffraria," with a sea coast of nearly one hundred miles, having on one side the Keiskamma and Chumie, and on the other the Great Kei up to where the Black Kei falls into it. From that junction, also, the Klip Plaats River forms the western boundary of the northern portion of British Kaffraria, down to Gaika's Hill. The Amatola Mountains are included in this British Kaffraria. It has also, about thirty miles beyond the Keiskamma, the Buffalo River, with its Port of East London, by which port the Governor effects his communications with the colony during the present Kaffir War. The principal town and seat of government in British Kaffraria is King William's Town. Colonel Mackinnon is the commanding officer. Beyond the Kei is Kaffirland, more properly so called, and is occupied by independent tribes of Kaffirs up to Natal. Albert lies on the north and

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north-east of Victoria, beyond the Stormberg, and its northern boundaries meet the Orange River sovereignty.

To proceed with my route. Fort Beaufort is not more than a day's ride from Graham's Town. I set out rather late, and reached it only on the second day, having rested at the "Konap" for the night, and halted for a short time in the morning at Leeuw Fontein. Thus far it is a dreary ride over a plain wholly destitute of interest. Afterwards, the scene changes; hills and mountains come into nearer view, with their fertile valleys and well-wooded ravines. The Rev. J. Gill, of Fort Beaufort, came forward to the Konap, where we met, and from whence we proceeded together to his residence, crossing the Kat River as we entered the town.

This place was originally what its name (Fort) imports, a military post, and one of a line of posts intended to protect this part of the frontier from Kaffir invasions, while the colonial boundary was the Fish River. The eastern frontier of the colony being now the Keiskamma, much in advance of the former line, Fort Beaufort has ceased to be of the importance it was; but it has risen to be a considerable town, and during the *late* Kaffir war increased largely. Prior to the war there were many wealthy and flourishing farmers in the neighbourhood, especially sheep farmers, some of whom possessed from two thousand to eight or ten thousand sheep, the wool of which was exported to England. These often expended large sums of money in the town: the market became important—traffic was large, shops and stores were numerous, and the spirit of enterprise active. The war destroyed or arrested all that prosperity: many of the tradesmen failed; many inhabitants removed from the locality; buildings had been multiplied too rapidly, and property was incautiously or two eagerly invested, at high prices in land, and men who *would* be rich at all hazards "pierced themselves through with many sorrows." The aspect of the place is now sombre and discouraging. Hope remains; it is said that things have reached their lowest

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point in the downward tendency, and that ere long there must be gradual and steady revival, with moderate and continuous prosperity. But all things must be extremely fluctuating and uncertain on a border where peace and war alternate in such rapid succession.

Mr. Gill has two out-stations, Umxelo and Birklands, and an occasional service at the Cowie. I accompanied him on a visit to Umxelo, formerly the residence of Mr. Birt, our Missionary now at Peeltown, and at that time a Kaffir station among the people under the chieftain Botmen. The chapel had been burnt by the Kaffirs during the war, and was afterwards occupied by British troops, and in the remaining walls of which are seen the holes cut out for the discharge of muskets—sad use to make of a sanctuary of peace! The station had been abandoned for a length of time, but was lately resumed. The locality is now occupied by about twelve or fifteen families of Fingoes.

There is a fine stream of water belonging to the location, and included within the boundary-lines of Umxelo, as defined by Mr. Calderwood, the Civil Commissioner. It is not intended to permit a larger number of natives to be located there. The present small number is sufficient to occupy the grazing ground. The people have a few sheep and goats, but they are not an agricultural people. We held a short service with them in the afternoon. They are poor, but they were dressed in European clothing, and looked comfortable; I saw only one having on the old sheep-skin kaross. We had met several men on the road, wearing simply a blanket across the shoulder. The features of the people are neither inviting nor repulsive. They are large: the eye is good, calm, intelligent, and benevolent; the nose is large, and expanded; the lips large and thick; the hair consists of small tufts, resembling that of the Hottentots. The language is a dialect of the Kaffir, and contains the *click*, and which, in the name of the place, is represented by our letter X, perhaps the nearest sound to it, but yet so remote that no one could guess the true

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sound by the character. If beautiful at all, I should say it is *inexpressibly* beautiful.

Fort Beaufort has been the seat of an attack during the Kaffir War of 1851. In a letter which I received from the Rev. J. Gill, dated 8th January, he states that—

"Early on the morning of the 7th, Hermanus, with some 500 or 600 men, attacked the town sharply. A hurried fire was kept up for about twenty minutes between the Kaffirs and the Fingoes, our allies, and the enemy began to retreat. About forty Kaffirs were found dead, and six or seven Hottentots. The enemy was pursued to Blink-water and Fuller's Hoek. Many head of cattle, horses, and various articles plundered from the neighbouring farmers, were recovered. It is thought that about a hundred men altogether, including Hermanus himself, were killed. . . . . . You will suppose that we have been in much excitement and no little fear. Had Hermanus remained true, we should have had little to fear. His baseness, together with the reported intentions of Sandilli to join him in an attack on us, made us feel that our lives were in jeopardy. Most of the houses are now barricaded, and the women and children have been sleeping at the barracks. All the farmers round us for fifty miles have fled. We have no market and no trade. Many are obliged to enrol under Government in order to obtain a little food. Nearly all our roads at present are closed. There is no bread to be bought. The whole meal or flour in the town will not last more, it is said, than six weeks. Both that and butcher's meat are trebled in price.

"You will be glad to know that all the people from Birklands are here, and most of those from Umxelo. They meet with me in the English chapel twice on Sundays and two or three times in the week. The chapel is filled, though many of the people are absent attending the cattle. Our day and Sunday-schools are being kept up as well as possible. . . . May God be gracious unto us, and make us meet for our day!"

Since the above was written, intelligence has been received that some communications had been opened by the troops under Colonel Mackinnon, and it may be *hoped* that supplies have been obtained, and additional forces spared, to guarantee the town against another attack.

In consequence of this state of things, the expense of this Mission station will fall more heavily on the funds of the parent Society than had been anticipated, and this

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much to the regret of the Missionary and the mortification of his friends.

The European portion of Mr. Gill's congregation, though limited in number, had promised to raise, in consideration of the Missionary's English services to them, about half the amount of his salary, and to pay his house-rent. This arrangement would leave the parent Society to meet only such expenses as might be incurred on consideration of Mr. Gill's services among the Kaffirs, Fingoes, and Hottentots. But, amidst the serious embarrassments and unexpected difficulties which have arisen, the Missionary will share the sympathy and support of the Society. Neither will this be an unique case. All our Mission stations in the vicinity of Kaffirland will suffer, and, in fact, all within the colony will be more or less severely affected by this disastrous Kaffir war. This is just one of those contingencies which demonstrate the necessity of the Society's funds being kept in a healthy condition.

During my stay at Fort Beaufort, I had the pleasure of receiving a visit from our friends, the Rev. Messrs. Read, senior and junior, and whom I had not seen since their visit to England in 1836, accompanied by Jan Tzatzoe and Andries Stoffels. It was exceedingly pleasant to renew the acquaintance; to meet a Missionary, after nearly fifty years' labours, in almost undiminished vigour, and the son treading in the father's steps, bearing the heat and the burden of the day without weariness or complaint. Arrangements were made for me as to the route I could most advantageously take in proceeding from this locality, through British Kaffraria, up to Madoor's Country, and back again to the Kat River Settlement.

Some of the leading people also from Philippolis came to converse with me at Fort Beaufort. They were anxious to obtain the services of Mr. Read, junior, as their Missionary, in lieu of Mr. Thompson, who had recently left them to settle over the Congregational Church at Graham's Town.

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This plan, however, of dis-locating Mr. Read, junior, from the Kat River, could not be accomplished without serious detriment. I knew, indeed, he would be invaluable at Philippolis; but he was already so, as coadjutor with his venerable father, at Philipton, and therefore other arrangements were made for the Griquas. It was anticipated that Mr. Christie, from England, would be with them, and with that they were abundantly satisfied.

On leaving Fort Beaufort, I rode with Mr. Gill to see his out-station at "Birklands," where Mr. Calderwood formerly resided. The location is now occupied by a number of Kaffir families. It occupies a pleasant and gentle elevation, and commands a good view of Fort Beaufort, about two miles and a half distant. The people are building for themselves very decent houses, instead of the round native hut. A chapel is in course of erection, where we held service. I gave a short address, which a young native translated into Kaffir. Mr. Calderwood, who had overtaken us on the road, on his way from Fort Beaufort to Alice, added an exhortation in the native language, in which he appeared perfectly fluent. About one hundred people were present. A cottage is also building here, for Miss Thompson, from the "Glasgow Society," a lady who is laudably devoting her time and energies to the instruction of the people.

We continued our ride, and reached "Alice" the same afternoon. We passed through some highly picturesque scenery. The view of the "Amatola" range is exceedingly beautiful, with "Gaika's Kop" prominently in view, and partially covered with snow. This is the mountain range from which Sir Harry Smith says "the treacherous Kaffirs must be driven for ever, and exterminated!"

In accepting the office under Government of "Civil Commissioner," Mr. Calderwood resigned, of course, his connexion with our Missionary Society. Hence my visit to Alice was not official. But I received from Mr. Calderwood a most cordial welcome, and remained two or three

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days under his hospitable roof, with gratification and profit. I found him possessed of the heart and sympathies of the Missionary still. He himself had not sought the civil appointment. It had been urged on his acceptance by men of high standing and religious character. The step was deliberately weighed, and then conscientiously taken. His office is not a sinecure, nor his path always smooth and easy. He has gained the confidence of the Government, and not sacrificed the esteem of all the good men in the Missionary field.

The town of "Alice" is a rising place, but it has not more than forty or fifty families residing in it. It is situate on the extreme border of the province of Victoria. The Chumie River runs by the town, and separates Victoria from British Kaffraria; the Gaga, another stream passing here, falls into the Chumie. The Chumie is crossed by a wooden bridge near Fort Hare. This Fort was intended for fifteen hundred troops; about two hundred only are there now, and a part of the Cape Corps Mounted Rifles,—a Hottentot regiment.

The Free Church of Scotland has a Seminary near here, which I visited with Rev. J. Laing, who has charge of it. It is called "Lovedale," and receives a gratuity of £100 per annum from the Government. Miss Harding, connected with a society in London,* is also here, for the purpose of instructing the natives. There are not more than some six or seven pupils in the seminary, except a few European youths, who attend for education. The building is large and suitable. There were eighteen pupils before the late war. Mr. Weir attends to the secular department. There is a good piece of land attached to the Institution, granted by the Government for cultivation, say about twenty acres, and ten acres for the use of Mr. Laing. It is well watered. There is a proposal in Alice to bring out the water from a higher part of the Chumie, and irrigate a large piece of country about here, carrying it

* "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East."

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directly through the town. The cost is estimated at £150. There is a small but neat chapel here, in which Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Laing officiate alternately. It is well attended on Sundays.

The rocks in this vicinity consist principally of sandstone and indurated clays. There are indications of ironstone. Lime is also found in the neighbourhood, and a bed of blue lias seems to traverse the district immediately across the Chumie. It contains *some* fossils; a few only have yet been found. The Basaltic Dykes are vast and splendid between this and Fort Beaufort.

From all the information which I had hitherto been able to gather, my impression became more and more confirmed, that our Society would not be justified in abandoning Kaffirland as a field of Missionary labour. Some parties with whom I conversed thought there was *no* reason to apprehend any further interruption from an outbreak of war, provided cautious measures of defence along the frontier were maintained, and the friendly policy of the Government pursued, and a population located along the borders, whose interests should be identified with the preservation of peace. It was regarded also as an important and favourable circumstance, that the direct authority of the native chiefs over the people was so much reduced that they could not hinder the natives from locating themselves where they chose. They could come to reside near a Mission station, without endangering their lives, liberty, or property. The Mission stations are under the protection of Government, and the lands occupied granted by the Government. In addition to all this, the Missionaries urged that they had already toiled long in the field: the fallow ground had been broken up; the seed of truth had been sown. They awaited and anticipated a harvest. They thought also that, though other Societies were labouring for the spiritual welfare of the Kaffirs, our efforts were required also, and that, in fact, an augmentation, and not a diminution of Missionary effort was demanded, " so that

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we might not lose the things which we had already wrought." To all this, it might be added, that the Kaffir Missions of our Society were not on a large or expensive scale. In fact, they amount but to three—namely, King William's Town, under Rev. J. Brownlee; Knapp's Hope, under Rev. F. G. Kayser, aided by his son; and Peelton, under Rev. R. Birt. Mr. Gill's services, also, at Fort Beaufort, are in part devoted to the Kaffirs.

After weighing, deliberately, all these considerations, although I felt some misgivings as to the permanent tranquillity of the country, I came to the conclusion that I could not recommend the Directors to withdraw their Missions from this portion of South Africa. Supposing that war were likely to arise, it still became our duty to diffuse as widely as possible the great truths of religious instruction, as the best means of preventing the calamity and of preserving peace; and if, on the other hand, it were probable, as some believe, that peace would continue, then we had the fairest prospect for the uninterrupted prosecution of our work.

I proceeded from Alice to Knapp's Hope, the Mission Station of Rev. F. G. Kayser, so named by him in honour of the eminent Dr. Knapp, of Halle, Saxony, his former tutor. The ride from Alice to this spot is very beautiful. The scenery is magnificent, embracing the Chumie Mountains and the Amatola range. I passed on my way, at about six or seven miles' distance, the famous "Burn's Hill," where the disastrous losses of our commissariat occurred, in the Kaffir War of 1846, when sixty-three wagons, loaded with valuable property, splendid dresses, ammunition, medicine, cash, &c., fell, unfortunately, into the hands of the enemy.

It appears that two wagons got fast in the drift of a ravine. The oxen were then taken out of the hinder one, and sent forward by a youth to assist in getting the first wagon clear of the obstruction. A Kaffir came up and led them forward, the lad supposing that he

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belonged to the first wagon. One wagon was thus left in the road without oxen, and as there was room for one only to pass at a time, the whole train was impeded. Many Kaffirs had collected in the neighbourhood. They saw their advantage. There were no troops close at hand to protect the property. The Kaffirs rushed on, and began climbing up into the wagons, as the natives describe it, like so many baboons. These they soon plundered, and then set fire to the wagons themselves. The powder-wagons were in the rear. An officer came up and desired the driver to take as many cartridges as they could carry, and then leave the wagons to their fate. This the men refused to do. They said, "No; if we abandon the powder-wagons, all the ammunition will fall into the hands of the Kaffirs, and we shall be destroyed by the very means they steal from us: we had better die in defending the wagons." They then, by a desperate effort, moved off the *three* ammunition wagons to a little distance. In doing so, one broke, and they removed its contents into the other two. The Kaffirs suspected there was something of great value there, and attacked them accordingly. The Hottentots fought bravely, defending these wagons from eight in the morning till eight at night, by which time assistance was obtained from some of her Majesty's troops and about forty of the Kat River people. The men in charge of the wagons behaved remarkably well on the occasion. To the bravery of some of them was owing the preservation of the ammunition; but no notice was taken of their meritorious services—nor was any remuneration given them for the losses they sustained.

This was an immense booty for the Kaffirs, obtained by them with very little effort, and I presume quite beyond their own anticipations. Not only was the escort quite insufficient to protect such a valuable team of wagons, and especially in passing through the country of a most vigilant and crafty enemy, but it is obvious that there had been a foolish contempt of the power and promptness of the enemy, and an equally unwise and overweening conceit of

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our own superiority. We are too apt to treat uncivilized men as though they were mere children, capable of being imposed on by gewgaws, pageantry, and splendour. This is a capital mistake. They often possess great shrewdness and common sense; they have a very keen insight into the motives and real meaning of men who treat with them; and instead of feeling themselves honoured by the white man's condescension in behaving towards them as childish and inferior races, they regard it very sensitively as an affront. It is at once more just, more complimentary, and more politic, to treat them as men—as rational and intelligent beings. To treat them as such, is one way to induce them to act as such.

On reaching Knapp's Hope, I met with a kind reception from the Missionary family there, and attended public service that evening. The station is on a very limited scale. The chapel and Mission premises were burnt by the Kaffirs during the war of 1846. The natives affirm that this was not done out of any ill-will towards the Missionaries personally, nor to their instructions, but simply as a measure of self-defence, so that these buildings might not afford defence to the English troops with whom they were then at war. Their chiefs had issued positive instructions that the property of the teachers should not be injured, and to some extent the orders were faithfully observed. Mr. Kayser has built a small cottage adjoining his former residence, and I found him making arrangements for rebuilding the chapel. Mr. Kayser is a self-denying Missionary, eminently devoted to his work, and very anxious that all his family should be consecrated to the same employment.

I proceeded with Mr. Kayser to visit the locality, in order to judge of its desirableness as a Mission station. A large piece of land can be brought under cultivation by means of irrigation. This can be effected without serious difficulty, as a water-course of about two miles in length already exists that can convey the water from a part of the Keiskamma. Yet it would require a length of time and

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much labour to form this into a station of any considerable magnitude; and as to its creating resources, by which it might support itself, that seems to be out of the question for many years to come.

It may be worth while to mention, that these artificial means of irrigation are extremely valuable and important in Kaffirland, not only as a means of securing a supply of provisions for the people, but by that very circumstance, as undermining and destroying the fatal influence of the *rain-makers* among the Kaffirs. Drought is, moreover, the great source of cattle-stealing, trespassing, and war. Let the people have abundant crops, an ample supply for their families, and it would be far more difficult than it is, for chiefs or prophets to arouse them into a collision with the British Government.

If one-tenth of the amount expended in war with the Kaffirs during the last fifteen years, had been expended on the agricultural improvement of the country, my conviction is, that the other nine-tenths might all have been saved. Sir Henry Smith and the Aborigines' Protection Society have effected *something* of this nature, but far more is wanted, and the results will be in proportion to the expenditure, and the wisdom of its application.

It is clear also to my mind, that if we are to prosecute Missions at all among the Kaffirs, we must be content to do so on a small scale, and amidst manifold discouragements. The Kaffirs do not and will not associate in any large numbers in any given locality. Their villages (kraals) embrace only about five, ten, or twelve families each, and the chief reason of this, not a want of social instinct—the gregarious principle in man—but that, being a pastoral people, they require so much grazing ground for their cattle. Many of the springs near which they settle are very small, and do not admit the location of a larger number of families than that just mentioned. I found other Missionary Societies labouring under the same difficulty. And it is a serious impediment in the prosecu-

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tion of the Missionary enterprise among them; the congregations are necessarily small; few children can be collected in the same schools, and the seminaries can obtain but few pupils. Still, the Missionaries, taken generally, are more sanguine of success than at any former period in the history of the Kaffir Missions; partly from the reasons already assigned, that the people are more independent of their chiefs, and can settle down in locations under British protection; and partly from the changes already perceived in their habits. They cultivate more land. The *men* are seen at work on the lands, and not the women alone, as formerly. Several Kaffirs in the neighbourhood of the Mission Stations are *ploughing* lands, and *raising corn for sale;* some also are building either improved huts (the round huts), or square cottages, and some of them possess wagons as well as oxen.

Since part of the foregoing was written, intelligence has been received in this country of another outbreak of war. The Kaffirs have collected in great strength against the British Government, and committed great havoc. On this melancholy subject further remarks will occur in succeeding chapters; it is needful only to state here, that Mr. Kayser has been compelled to abandon this station of Knapp's Hope, and has found a temporary refuge at Alice. He remained up to the last moment, and retired only when life appeared to be in imminent danger. In a letter which he then addressed to the Society's Agent in Cape Town, the Rev. W. Thompson, he says, "Poor deluded Kaffir nation! *I mourn for thee*, for thou *wouldst not* believe, and the time for thy destruction is at hand." Mr. Thompson most suitably adds to the foregoing extract the following remarks, in closing the Report for 1850 of the Society's Labours in South Africa:—

"Our hearts bleed for Kaffirland. Amid the din and the cruelty of savage warfare, we acknowledge her noble race of inhabitants as our fellow-men, their wretchedness as a people demands our deepest commiseration, and we mourn over the cessation of those labours destined

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to effect their elevation for time and eternity. Yet even this dire calamity may be overruled for good to them and to the colony. Although 'cast down, we are not in despair.' Nor is our faith at all shaken in the efficacy of Christian Missions, and in the final triumphs of the gospel in this benighted land. We regard it as no proof of the failure of our efforts—with whatever confidence it may have been urged—that notwithstanding the labours of years, by the agents of the different Missionary societies, the Kaffirs as a nation remain unconverted, uncivilized, and in their ferocity unsubdued. Proofs of a more marvellous fact still meet us, in all the large towns of this colony and of our father-land, of men within the reach of every Christian privilege remaining unbenefited and unblessed thereby, breathing a spirit not less sanguinary than that they condemn in the Kaffirs; and, notwithstanding the powerful voice of public opinion, and the restraints of a society modified by the genial influences of the gospel,—not more truthful, honest, nor pure than they. And shall we then charge home on that Society, or on the Christianity which gives it its tone, that it has not effected the removal of these vices? We are no apologists for the defects of character or conduct in the coloured man; but we do not consider them aggravated because he is coloured. Partaking of the same corrupt nature with ourselves, we seek that he may enjoy the same spiritual privileges, and finally, through Divine grace, reach the same heavenly home. We ask our friends to aid us, not merely by their pecuniary gifts, but by their sympathy and prayers."

On setting out from Knapp's Hope for King William's Town, the principal town and seat of Government in British Kaffraria, Mr. Kayser accompanied me some distance until I overtook my wagon, which had been sent forward the same morning. Mr. Kayser then returned, and I continued my journey amidst the fair and beautiful scenery of Kaffraria, and as perfectly unmolested and without fear of interruption as I should have been in any part of the United Kingdom. The time of my leaving Knapp's Hope having been intimated to our laborious Missionary, the Rev. J. Brownlee, of King William's Town, he kindly came forward on horseback to meet me, and then accompanied me in my wagon to his residence. And here I may just remark, that I found it a great relief to the tedium of my solitary travelling in South Africa, to be thus frequently

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accompanied for some distance by a brother Missionary. I think that, out of the eleven months occupied in my whole journey, I had some one or other friend to associate with me, so frequently, as to form altogether an aggregate of about five or six months. This afforded me many valuable opportunities of gratifying and profitable intercourse with the brethren.

I found Mr. Brownlee residing at a short distance from the town, and near the barracks. The town has risen into considerable importance since the last war. It is a military station, and the most important one in British Kaffraria; Lieutenant Colonel Mackinnon is Chief Commissioner for the whole district, and resides here. Besides the military under Colonel Armstrong, there may be about one hundred families resident, and a few Kaffirs. The Buffalo River runs in the immediate neighbourhood. At a distance of about three miles the water has been led out, and is conveyed by a water-course to the town, for irrigating the gardens. This work was commenced and carried forward by Mr. Brownlee, and involved considerable expense. Its *exact* amount cannot be known, as Mr. Brownlee often paid the workpeople in food instead of money, and much of his own time which was expended on it was of course paid for by the London Missionary Society, in the shape of salary. But the work could not be performed, if paid for now, at a less sum than from £250 to £300. Of all this advantage the British Government has availed itself, and, I must add, *without any remuneration to Mr. Brownlee or the Society.* It seems to have been taken with the locality of the town as one of the sites held by the Government in British Kaffraria, and of which the Kaffirs are deprived, as one of the consequences of the war. Still, I cannot see that these circumstances should deprive a *British subject of personal property*, as it has done in the case of Mr. Brownlee, or the Society either. Mr. Brownlee has also been deprived of his dwelling-house, garden, and chapel. The house and garden are taken by the Government, and allotted to the

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Commissioner as his residence. The fruit-trees in the garden, all planted by Mr. Brownlee himself, yielded a produce worth from £50 to £70 per annum, and would still yield it. The walls of the chapel remain,—the roof, &c., was burned by the Kaffirs during the war; the site and the walls are claimed by the British Government. Mr. Brownlee has taken another site, on which he has built a small cottage, as his dwelling-house: also another building of a very humble description, which serves for chapel and school-room; and he is laying out again a small garden. He appealed to the local Government for indemnification in these losses. Sir H. Smith replied, that the matter was referred to the Home Government, and from thence no reply has ever come. Dr. Philip subsequently applied to the Governor for redress, and received the same unsatisfactory answer. I imagine no payment in money will be made as compensation. Possibly, a grant in *land* could have been obtained, but of this the Missionary would feel very jealous, lest the acceptance of it should compromise his disinterestedness, and with that his usefulness, among the natives. Kaffirs, it may be easily supposed, would not look with a very friendly eye on a teacher who would seem to them to be enriching himself by the spoliation of their lands. The Government ought unquestionably to have paid a fair amount for the property they obtained from a British subject. They did so in some other cases, and no reason exists why they have not done so in this.

A large number of the Cape Corps attend service in Mr. Brownlee's rustic chapel. The service with them is conducted in the Dutch language: at the close of that service the Kaffir congregation assembles, and Mr. Brownlee preaches in their native language. They assemble again early in the afternoon. The Sunday I was there, there might have been about 150 persons present during each of the three services. They appeared attentive and interested. Mr. Brownlee's church consists of about forty members. It may be mentioned, as some illustration of

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the desire of the people for intellectual improvement, that they take in about *forty copies* of some religious newspapers or magazines, printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, under the care of the Rev. J. Appleyard, of King William's Town.

I called on the Rev. J. Appleyard, Wesleyan Missionary at King William's Town, and had great pleasure in accompanying him over the Society's printing establishment, under his effective superintendence. It is on a large and highly respectable scale. Its whole appearance and management appeared to me to do great credit to the zeal, ability, and business-like habits of Mr. Appleyard. I found several natives employed in its various departments, as compositors and pressmen. No small step this, in the progress of civilization; instead of the assagai, the type—instead of the club, the roller. *A Missionary printing establishment* in the midst of a heathen population is a fountain of life, whose waters carry purity and salvation wherever they flow. *This* establishment in Kaffraria, the London Society's at Kuruman for the Bechuanas, the Paris Society's in the Bassuto Country, the American Society's at Natal, and another at Beyrout, were to me scenes of indescribable and imperishable interest, such as I would not have relinquished for all the charms of the scenery which I enjoyed during my whole tour.

At the time of my visit to Mr. Appleyard's establishment he was carrying his "Kaffir Grammar" through the press. This he has since completed. It is published in a handsome volume, and reflects much honour on Mr. Appleyard's attainments as a scholar, and his extensive acquaintance with the Kaffir language. It constitutes a valuable addition to the literary labours connected with modern Protestant Missions.

During my visit to this town, I waited on Lieutenant Colonel Mackinnon, the Commissioner, and found him courteous and friendly. He strongly recommended establishing a mission among the people of Umhala, a chief who resides near the Kei River. His own opinion of the

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existing state of affairs in Kaffirland was favourable; he thought the system was working well at present, that all was tranquil, and that there were no indications of a change. Thefts, however, were becoming rather more numerous, and which in part might be accounted for by the extreme poverty of the people. Owing to the late war, and the present drought, all were impoverished.

I visited the Wesleyan Station at Mount Coke, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Impey, aided by Mr. Hewitson (late of the Natal Mission of the Church of England, under Mr. Owen), now secular manager of the Institution. I met there also Mr. Sargent, on his way from Wesleyville to East London, mouth of the Buffalo, where the Wesleyan Society intended forming a *principal* station, and from whence Wesleyville might be supplied with a catechist. On my way thither we called at *Fort* Murray, where I passed half an hour with Captain Maclean, Commissioner to the 'Slambie Tribe. Mr. C. Brownlee (son of our Missionary), Assistant Commissioner to the Gaika Tribe, visited King William's Town in the course of the day, and with him I had also an opportunity of much conversation respecting the Kaffirs and Kaffirland.

"Mount Coke" promises to be an important Missionary Station. The land is being cultivated, a large space is also being laid out in building-lots, and square native houses will be built on it. A good school-room is built, and on the walls hang large maps for the instruction of the native pupils. At present they are very few, but more are shortly expected.

Nearly all with whom I have hitherto conversed, speak *cautiously* yet hopefully of Kaffirland. Politically, they said, the people were subdued to the power of the British Government. British authority was thought to be *para*mount, and likely to remain so, if the existing system were continued without interruption, and permitted to *work* itself well. Troops, it was added, were stationed in sufficient numbers to keep the people in check. Commissioners

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and Assistant Commissioners jealously watch all proceedings on the part of the natives, and a Native Kaffir Police was also employed. Still, with all this caution, it is *said* the Kaffirs are obtaining large quantities of fire-arms and powder, which, though prohibited, are smuggled in by traders, and introduced to a great extent. It is highly probable, too, that the chiefs, long familiar with supreme and independent power in the country, bear with extreme mortification the present state of things, and would avail themselves, if an opportunity offered, of any means that occurred to regain their waning authority. Some of them are quite reduced in circumstances and impoverished. Macomo, a wreck through intemperance, has resigned his authority to his sons. Botman, also, has but little power left. The people have been severe losers by the war, and some think could not easily be induced to try its chances again; besides which, *many of them*, as more intelligent, and more thoroughly under the influence of Christian principle and Christian instruction than the rest, would decididly oppose a renewal of the war.

Accompanied by Mr. Brownlee and his son, Mr. C. Brownlee, I rode over to see Jan Tzatzoe and his family. He resides about four miles distant from the town, and has a fine piece of land, which he is cultivating. He has one or two wagons and spans of oxen. He has also rebuilt a cottage, and though he lost some property by the late war, his temporal circumstances are now better than they were before the war. He came over to see me on Monday morning at King William's Town, and I had then a long conversation with him. But I fear he still retains much of the "apathetic" character that belongs to the native,—the want of an internal spring of action, in pursuing what is good and noble. He committed a blunder in the business of the Kaffir attack on Fort Peddie; he was wrong in taking any part in it, though perhaps it should be stated that as an inferior chief he was acting only under the orders of his superior chief, and that he retired from

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the Fort as speedily as possible. To this affair it was, I presume, that Sir Harry referred when, reproaching him at the close of the war, and in the presence of the people and chiefs, he somewhat unceremoniously called him a "fool," —a sufficient reason, as Jan Tzatzoe laconically observed, for his not offering any opinion on the state of affairs which His Excellency the Governor had rather tauntingly asked him to give.

From Jan Tzatzoe we proceeded to "Perie," a Missionary Station, under the care of Mr. Ross of the Free Church. He has been many years in the country, and speaks with much caution as to his expectations of success among the people, and as to the prospective tranquillity of the country. He deeply laments the injurious and counteractive character of the influence exercised among the natives by the European population generally. Many of this class come to the neighbourhood of his station to fetch timber from the adjoining forest, and who are not only habitual drunkards, but who take pains to induce the people to take intoxicating liquors also, and in some instances fatally succeed.

I left King William's Town in my wagon, and, accompanied by Mr. Brownlee, proceeded to Mr. Birt's Station, about ten miles to the north-east.

It is sometimes called "Yellow Woods"—from the name of a neighbouring stream, and which is so called from the vicinity of many fine yellow-wood trees. The place has been named "Peel Vale," and is so marked in the maps. The country is exceedingly beautiful, even now, in this season of the year, when all is dry and parched for want of rain,—it is enchanting, and much more must it be so in the rainy season. Hill, dale, valley, ravine, and forest constitute the variety of the scenery.

As this is a Station recently formed in connexion with the Society, it may not be unsuitable to give a brief sketch of the circumstances under which it was formed. I give this principally from the pen of Mr. Birt himself. At the commencement of the Kaffir war in 1846, a Station, called the

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Umxelo, began by Mr. Birt in 1840, was broken up. It had not been without success. About fifty native members of the Mission, and their families, accompanied the Missionary when he retired on account of the war within the colonial boundaries. They were considerably scattered through the colony during the protracted war; but by the time peace was proclaimed, about half of them collected again, and were very desirous of entering Kaffirland. The land they formerly occupied was now taken from the Kaffirs and annexed to the colony; this was, therefore, no longer a home for *them*, for they were of one mind with Mr. Birt, that it was desirable to settle again somewhere within Kaffirland, *that their influence might not be lost upon their own nation*. Mr. Birt was at that time pastor of a newly-formed church and congregation in Fort Beaufort, of which he had undertaken the charge while he was shut out of Kaffirland; and it was not till July in that year that he could move into Kaffirland, in consequence of there being no minister to relieve him of his pastoral duties in Fort Beaufort.

The Imidonge tribe, among whom Mr. Birt laboured while at the Umxelo, were very desirous of his settling again among them; but as no spot could be found in their locality sufficiently suitable, that would justify the formation of a new station, he was compelled to look elsewhere. It was to the river Nicemera that Mr. Birt looked, on account of its superior advantages for cultivation; and, the present site having been fixed upon, in the midst of a large tract of land called, after the lamented statesman, Peel Valley (and being now relieved of his pastoral duties), he gave notice that he would remove thither. Only nine men were willing to go with him, there being a lurking prejudice against this part of the country, just because it is a *different* country and climate from that which they had been accustomed to. A good report, however, very soon brought in all that were desirous of settling in Kaffirland.

Mr. Birt was so fully aware of the importance of having such a nucleus to commence with, in the midst of a Kaffir-

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land population: and he knew also the value of many of them so well, as evangelists among their countrymen, that he considered no difficulty too great, that *could* be surmounted, in order to accomplish his object;—and in this he has not been disappointed.

The first thing the people did was to erect a temporary cottage, of raw brick, for the Missionary and his family. They then set about building for themselves square cottages; but the want of a house for the worship of God was so much felt, that they agreed to lay that work aside and commence a chapel;—and on the 1st of January, 1849, they entered a forest, six miles distant, for the purpose of hewing down wood for its erection. This was set about with a most commendable zeal and unanimity, seldom equalled; and certainly, considering their low circumstances, truly surprising. This chapel, forty feet by eighteen and twenty by eighteen, of T shape, with a porch in front forming a vestry, stands as a noble monument of the voluntary principle. Money was collected from a few friends in King William's Town and elsewhere, for the sawn timber, doors, windows, pulpit, &c.; so that the building was presented to the Society complete, free of any expense whatever.

The chapel being finished, and publicly opened in June, capable of containing 260 persons, the people commenced the building of their cottages;—but this is hard work for the poor people. Still, however, many of them are completed, and others nearly so. No good season has been enjoyed since the establishment of this Mission; but this year, 1850, is truly depressing,—not a grain of seed yet ploughed in. The earth is parched, and the season for sowing is going past, at least so far as millet is concerned, which is the principal food of the country. This is truly appalling,—but their trust is in God.

The congregation has been generally good, and has amounted to an average of two hundred. Some of the natives, including head men of villages, have abolished all heathenism in their localities, and send their children to

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the Mission school with the utmost regularity. About sixty-five children attend the daily school, under a native master. Another school, which contains thirty-four, is under a European master, where they acquire the rudiments of English. In the Sunday-school, eighty young persons and about thirty adults attend, instructed by twelve teachers. There are fifty members in the church, some of whom act as evangelists in the surrounding neighbourhood; and they have adopted the liberal resolution of supporting one of their number at a distance from the station, as a teacher and schoolmaster, subject to Missionary control, but *to be supported entirely by themselves.*

A class of from twelve to fifteen young men happened to be present at Peelton during my visit, and added much to the interest I felt on the occasion. They belong to the different Missionary stations among the Kaffirs; they are members of churches; they are making a stand against those customs and practices of their countrymen that are evil, or which, though not really evil in themselves, are associated with circumstances that are so. Some of these young men, it is hoped, may become teachers and evangelists. They meet in rotation at the different stations, *keep minutes in English of their proceedings*, unite in prayer with one another, and exhort each other to stedfastness, improvement, and usefulness. They all attended Mr. Birt's family worship on the morning I met them, and which I was requested to conduct in the English language. This gave me an opportunity of addressing them. I read the twelfth chapter to the Romans, and took occasion to press various duties on them as there urged by the apostle, and which I thought were specially adapted to their circumstances.

I walked with Mr. Birt, in the course of the morning, to see the ploughed lands, and the plantations of the people on the station. Here are all the signs of industry and improvement, and the people are themselves evidently beginning to appreciate their advantages. Several houses, of a

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very convenient and comfortable structure, are in course of erection, consisting of poles and plaster (wattle and dab). These will supersede the native circular huts. A large quantity of land is capable of cultivation, and many Kaffir families may be encouraged to come and locate themselves here. Mr. Birt is leading out a stream, to irrigate a piece of land near his residence, part of which will be made into a garden. Under his instructions, some of the people raise vegetables, and dispose of them for their own benefit in King William's Town. They seem only to require temporary help, and friendly encouragement, and in a short time there will be an industrious, intelligent, and prosperous community here. The more such communities can be formed and fostered, the more facilities are created for the diffusion of the Gospel, and *the sounder the guarantee for the continuance of peace in the country.*

Mrs. Birt has a class of native women; they work under her instructions, and make various articles of dress, which are sold in the colony, and by the produce of which, they were intending to defray the expenses of the erection of a school-house on the station, where their children might be instructed. About twenty women were present the afternoon I visited the class; all were comfortably dressed in European clothing, and appeared sensible, diligent, and sober-minded women. I gave them a brief address, with the view of encouraging them in their laudable efforts, and Mr. Birt kindly acted as my interpreter. I distributed some articles among them, which I had brought from England, kindly supplied by friends there, and wished I could have supplied their great want of needles; but I am sure that many ladies in England would *most* gladly do so, if they knew how much they were needed, and by what means they could forward them.* How easily and how extensively the benevolence and intelli-

* The Secretaries of the London Missionary Society, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, will readily take charge of gifts of this kind, and which are always acceptable at Missionary stations.

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gence of England may promote the improvement of these native tribes, it is impossible to calculate. Our superfluities could supply all their necessities, and their elevation would be a reward poured into our bosoms.

While conversing one day with Mr. Birt, he related to me a very pleasing instance of the firm, but gentle and forgiving temper of a Kaffir young woman. She had renounced her Kaffir dress and heathen customs, put on European clothing as a sign of the change, and attended instruction. Her brother, still a heathen, fetched her to accompany him to a heathen dance. She refused. He fetched a stick, and threatened he would compel her to accompany him. He beat her, tore off her clothes, and again beat her till the stick broke. She never winced, nor uttered a cry, nor a word of reproach. He went to procure another stick; native women interposed and rescued her—they thought she had suffered enough. He then covered her with some heathen dress, and then she wept and sobbed bitterly, as though she was returned back to heathenism. "Why didn't you cry before?" said her brother; "when I beat you, you were silent; now I dress you, you weep!" Some time rolled by, and the brother came again to visit her. He would not enter the hut; he was, perhaps, ashamed of his conduct; he might have met with reproach. No; he mistook her; he had not yet learned Christianity. She could forgive; she went out and met him at the entrance, gave him her hand, and with it a sister's kiss. That subdued him. Woman's tenderness conquered this untamed Kaffir, and she continued her attendance on the instructions of the Missionary. I called on her in company with Mr. Birt. I admired her for her patient and amiable spirit. I wished her many blessings, and I was delighted to leave with her a trifling present as a token of my esteem.

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CHAPTER V.

GERMAN MISSION STATION, BETHEL—MADOOR'S STATION, FREEMANTON—REMEDY AGAINST AVARICE—TREATMENT OF MADOOR—TAMBOOKIES—KAFFIR ARGUMENT, QUIT-RENT—LETTERS FROM MADOOR—SHILOH, MORAVIAN STATION—SELF-SUPPORTING—LAND CULTIVATED—ATTACKED IN 1847, MAJOR HOGG—OUR ALLIES—PROCEED TOWARDS THE KAT RIVER—MESSRS. READ—LETTERS—SNOW STORM—COLD—NIGHT'S ACCOMMODATION—ROADS DIFFICULT—SPLENDID VIEW—WAR—ARRIVAL AT PHILIPTON—MRS. READ.

It was my intention to have proceeded at once to the "Kat River Settlement," on leaving Peelton; but some important out-stations having been formed by Messrs. Read in Tambookie land, they urged me to pay these a visit before coming to Philipton. On leaving Peelton, I accordingly took a northerly direction, and reached, in the course of the first evening, the German Mission Station.—"Bethel," eighteen miles north of Mr. Birt's. Mr. Birt had accompanied me in my wagon. We were cordially welcomed and entertained by the brethren at Bethel, Messrs. Lieffeldt and Korpf. This station was in a very flourishing condition previous to the war of 1846; it is now only just beginning to revive. The situation is extremely advantageous; there is a noble stream of water running by the Institution, and it is surrounded by extensive lands, capable of cultivation. The former chapel, dwelling-houses, smithery, &c., were all burned down during the war. The Missionaries at present are all actively employed in erecting tolerably substantial cottages. A chapel is built,

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water-courses are laid out, gardens are planted, the natives are ploughing, and things begin to wear an improved and encouraging aspect. But all this is yet incipient. The people are extremely poor. This part of the country being on the high-road through Kaffirland, suffered more severely from the war than many other places; the people fled to save their lives, and the houses which they left, cattle, corn, and all they possessed, fell into the hands of the troops.

It occupied me several days during the week to reach the Bushmen's Settlement in Madoor's country. Mr. Birt and Mr. Croft accompanied me some distance from Bethel. Messrs. Lieffeldt and Rein (a Missionary associated with Mr. Scholtshuis at Itemba), accompanied me as far as the Kolong. I reached the banks of the Tomaas River, a considerable stream, running east and south-east of the Windvogel Berg, and afterwards crossed the Zwarte Kei. Mr. James Read of the Kat River met me, by appointment, and we soon afterwards fell into company with Mr. Calderwood and Mr. Shepstone, interpreter to Government for the Gaika tribes, who was accompanying him. Next day, after out-spanning and resting three times, we reached about nine o'clock in the evening the kraal or village of Madoor. As this spot is not laid down in any map yet published, I do not know its exact distance from King William's Town. It cannot be less than 120 miles. There is nothing in this part of the country to interest a traveller. It consists of dreary and mountainous elevations and depressions of interminable sandstone, relieved, occasionally, by basaltic dykes. I saw no wood, nor smiling vegetation of any kind. It seemed to be a locality just similar to that which John Campbell described, when he said to Mr. Moffat, "It would need that a man should have a good pair of spectacles to find a blade of grass here!" The population is exceedingly spare, and the cattle extremely few.

Madoor's station consists of a few huts. There is a small chapel also, which was built before the late war, and which was not destroyed by the Tambookies. Madoor took part with

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the Government against the Tambookies and the Kaffirs. He has about 300 men under his jurisdiction, including Bushmen, Hottentots, Fingoes, &c., and several coming into his country from the neighbouring tribes. With him they hoped to find an asylum, when in difficulty themselves, on account of charges of witchcraft brought against them among their own people. Madoor is pleased with these accessions to his people, as they not only add to his importance as a petty chief, but, by augmenting his population, form a greater security against the occasional invasions and occupation of part of his country, by the tribes in his vicinity, who trespass there for the sake of the grass and water that may be found. He is a man of about sixty years of age. His family is grown up. Some are living on the same spot with him. They appear a delicate and feeble race. He wears an old regimental great-coat, and a military cap not improved by long service. He told me "he was glad to see me, and yet ashamed to be found in such poor circumstances, and that he had not made greater progress." The war has been a great interruption to his people. He is now ploughing and cultivating a good piece of land. The valley in the vicinity of his village is well watered, and could be very extensively irrigated. Madoor knows but little of Dutch. He speaks chiefly in the Bushman language. My conversation with him was conducted through Mr. James Read, who conveyed it in colloquial Dutch to a daughter of Madoor, and she to her father in his own dialect, which is identified with the Hottentot language.

A considerable number of children came to our wagon while we were outspanning in the course of our journey to this place, all of whom had been deprived of the first joint of the third finger on the right hand. This had been done in compliance with an established custom of the country, and to prevent, it was said, the children from becoming avaricious! I question whether this remedy would be found effectual in Europe.

I am not conscious of any great elation in remarking

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here, *en passant*, that, having paid Madoor a visit, he wished his village should be called after my name, and accordingly, it has been designated "Freemanton." How long it may be destined to survive, I know not. Many greater names have perished in the history of the world, and, I "guess," that, amidst the changes now transpiring among the native tribes of South Africa, Freemanton will not long be remembered. There is no dukedom nor earldom attached to it, nor any estate for the advantage of my "heirs and descendants." I dare say I might have obtained a few acres if I had asked for them, but I was not ambitious of the honour.

However, humour apart, I was glad to find here a remnant of a race once numerous in South Africa, though now rapidly becoming extinct. The few of them that remain seem to prefer their present precarious mode of subsistence, living in the forests and the rocks, and procuring game by means of their poisoned arrows, to any other manner of life. To them, it is free and independent and sweet. It is with difficulty they can be prevailed on to abandon this nomadic, wandering, not to say lawless, mode of life, and settle down to the quiet cultivation of the lands as peaceful villagers.

For himself, however, Madoor told me that, passionately fond as he was of hunting game, he had not even once been out since he came and took up his abode in the village, subsequently to the late war. He regularly attends the services at the chapel, and encourages his people to do so, and displays as much interest in all that pertains to their social improvement, the cultivation of their land, and their building better houses, as could reasonably be expected from a man trained as he has been.

This Bushman Station was commenced about ten years ago. A benevolent project was at that time formed by the Missionaries and their friends at Philipton, in the Kat River Settlement, to try and collect some of these Bushmen from the mountain tops and fastnesses, and to persuade

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them, if possible, to locate themselves in some suitable part of the country, where they might be instructed and become a civilized community. Parties went in search of them, and, succeeding in their plan, brought them to the spot now designated Freemanton. Two native teachers were then sent to reside with them, one as their religious instructor, the other to assist in conducting their secular affairs, teaching them how to dig and plough and sow their lands, and to build their huts. These two men having received a simple outfit, together with a plough bought at the expense of the good people at Philipton, and having also been lent a span of oxen, they set out on their *mission* —their praiseworthy enterprise. A school was formed consisting of seventy children; a Christian church has been formed and several Bushmen, Fingoes, and other natives have been added to it.

During the war of 1846-7, the people of the station, feeble as they may seem, and forgotten as their services may now be, were able to render considerable service to the colony. They succeeded in repelling the enemy from that quarter, in doing which they sacrificed nearly all their property, and received in return the warm commendations of the Governor.

While conversing on one occasion with Madoor, I asked him what had formerly been his thought and feelings as to God and the world around him, and a future state, before he became acquainted with Mr. Read, the first Missionary whom he knew, and who has been his steady friend. The poor old man unaffectedly replied, that he had had *no* thoughts and *no* knowledge whatever. That, as to God, he had heard indeed that there was a man up above, somewhere, up in heaven,—but who, or what he was, how he came there, and what he did, he never knew nor inquired. He said, "I was as one of the wild beasts around me; I was fully employed in finding food here or there, and supposed that when we died, that was the utter end of our existence. And now," said he, "it seems to me

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wonderful that Mr. Read should find me,—in some way; I cannot tell how or why; and now I am here residing in the village, my family and people round me, my land cultivated, and we having the great privilege of hearing God's Word, and our children instructed."

Umjeki, an Amaponda Chief, came with some of his people to pay me a visit. He had desired to be informed when I arrived, and Madoor had sent him word immediately. He had evidently been a man of powerful stature, —almost gigantic. He was formerly a renowned warrior, and an exceedingly *proud* man. It seems that one of his sons has acted the part of an Absalom, stolen the hearts of the people, and obtained the supreme authority over his tribe. This has humbled the warrior, and he is now a quiet and subdued sort of being,—though capable, I should think, of being roused and of acting a fierce part again, if called out by circumstances. He expressed *his earnest desire to have a teacher* appointed to his station. I wished our funds would enable us to supply such men with Missionaries or native teachers.

One of the people who met me here at the village was a native named Makabana. I hoped to meet him again at Philipton. He is a man of fine character, decision, intelligence, and usefulness. He supports himself by his industry, but devotes much of his time to the instruction of the people. He is a Fitcani, and belonged to the tribe that was scattered and destroyed by the Mantatees and by the colonial Government. It is said to have been a powerful and warlike tribe. The kraal in which their soldiers met was so large as to take five spear-throws to reach across it. Women were not permitted to enter it, and the people, as they passed near, were required to stoop; none were permitted to walk by erect. He said their sufferings were sometimes so severe, from the dreadful famine to which they were exposed after the ravages of war, and the loss of their crops, that *they were reduced to the horrible necessity of cannibalism.* They first devoured all the

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dogs they could find, and then human beings. He said, they never ate the members of their own families, but they exchanged them with one another for the purpose of devouring them, just as they would exchange sheep. He is quite aware of the fact that some of the Bassutos have also been cannibals, but he thinks that, in both cases, the revolting custom has arisen out of the pressure of famine, and that such famine has usually been the result of devastating wars.

Madoor's country, so far as I could make it out from the descriptions given me of its natural boundaries of streams and mountains, and the distances, by time, to reach them respectively, would seem to be about fifty miles in length, north-east by south-west, and twenty-five miles in breadth. The village lies midway in this distance, seventeen miles from the Hinduwee stream, and eight from the mountain range that separates Madoor's country from that of Umtikaka.

The whole of this part of the country is extremely mountainous, consisting of sand-stone in horizontal strata, the upper portions of which have been so worn and washed away, as to give the hills the appearance of terraces, or hills covered with terraced walks rising one above another, and which, if susceptible of cultivation, might be converted into hanging gardens of great magnificence. In the absence of springs and fountains, such a destiny is not, I fear, in reserve for Africa, during (at any rate) the present dispensation of our globe.

The boundary lines which I have just alluded to, are, I understand, considerably *within* those originally marked out by Mr. Cole, when acting on behalf of the British Government, in the year 1848. Those lines have been subsequently altered by His Excellency Sir Harry Smith, the present Governor, though without any communication, it is affirmed, with Madoor or his people. *All* this country is now, in fact, proclaimed as *within* the colony, and a demand of £1 a year has been made on the head of each

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family, as a quit-rent; a demand which they cannot meet, as they have *no* money, and but a *small quantity* of cattle. The cattle, if distrained and driven to a distance, where a market might be found for them, would then probably be valued at not more than £1 each, and thus the people would not only be impoverished and disheartened, but ruined and exasperated, and forced to abandon the country, and seek some home farther to the north. Thus a very serious calamity would again occur to the colony, by leaving it exposed to other attacks in this quarter, from Kaffirs and Tambookies. His Excellency's policy in reference to Madoor appears, I must confess, to me, neither just, generous, nor politic. It is not generous, for *Madoor had served the colony well*, and rendered it very valuable aid during the last war, by assisting to preserve that portion of the colonial border from invasion, and checking the Kaffirs and Tambookies. His people gave their services to the Government for three years, having only rations and no pay, impoverishing themselves and their families in the meantime. To deprive him of his country now, is a poor recompense for such important services; and to proclaim his country *British territory*, part and parcel of the colony, without consultation, or obtaining his consent, is equivalent to depriving him of it. I apprehend this is only a first step towards his expulsion, and that of his people, either by fraud or force. Of course, I do not mean *direct* fraud; but I mean, that, as in *other* cases, some scheme will be employed by interested parties, who will get permission to occupy some portions of the land, then ultimately claim them, excite some quarrels, and at last get their claims sanctioned, and the natives dispossessed, crushed, and ruined.

I do not understand what may have been the Governor's reasons for these measures; but so far as I can learn, they were pressed on him by some of the Dutch emigrants, at the time when the Boers in the north were occasioning so much uneasiness in the colony. Sir Harry Smith, to

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conciliate the Boers in the south, promised, it is stated, to add this country of Madoor to the colony, and, it is reported, the *Tambookie* country also. The expectation of the Boers in the south would of course be, that ultimately they might get possession of these territories. All this only shows still more forcibly that the measure itself was an *unjust* one. And for the reasons which I have already stated, in reference to the defence of the colony from Tambookies and Kaffirs, the measure must be pronounced *impolitic*. To a stranger this may not be obvious. It might seem that, to have the country occupied by Boers, would be as good a defence to the colony, as to allow it to remain in the possession of these very partially civilized communities of natives. But far from it. The Boers require an *immense* tract of country for each family. Twenty or thirty families would divide among them the whole of Madoor's country. Whereas, at least *two hundred* families of *natives* would be satisfied with it, and be amply sustained by it. In the former case, also, the larger properties of the farmers would be a temptation to the Kaffir invader, and the amount of resistance so much the smaller, on account of the very limited number of the inhabitants, and the distances at which they live from one another.

The annual tax, or quit-rent of £1, demanded of Madoor and his people for each family, is not imposed on the tribes of Kaffirs, the Gaikas, who have lately been at war with the colony, although *their* country is also brought under British jurisdiction. Their country is claimed and designated "British Kaffraria." They have, *perhaps with some show of justice*, been deprived of supreme authority there, as the result of the late war; though questions *might* arise, even then, as to the *aggressive* party, and the *real causes* of that war. At any rate, though the Kaffirs may have done something to forfeit their country by the war, *Madoor had not*. Yet the latter is put under a tax, while the former is exempted. No wonder the Kaffirs readily boast of the advantages which they gain, and taunt

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the other party with the position in which they are placed. "You sat still; you took no part in the war against the colony," say the Kaffirs; "or you fought on the side of the colony; and see, you both lose your country and have a tax imposed on you. *We* fought—and here are the handsome presents which the English have made us! If you wish the English to be your friends, you must fight them."

I have received two letters on these subjects, one from Madoor himself, and one from his principal people. I told Madoor that I could not make him great promises of aid, that I did not wish to raise any sanguine expectations of what I could do for him, but that I would do what I could, both on my return to the seat of Government in Cape Town, and, if necessary, on my return to England. The poor old man seemed gratified and encouraged, and said "his heart was made larger and easier." He thanked me for my visit, my sympathy, and kind expressions. "But," said he, "when officers come from the Government to bring matters of dispute before me, it always makes my heart feel sad, and leaves a cloud over me."

Translation of a Letter from Madoor and his People, addressed to Rev. J. J. Freeman, and dated

"*Freemanton*, 29*th Aug.* 1849.

"MUCH RESPECTED SIR AND FATHER,

"It is with the greatest pleasure that we bid you welcome to Freemanton, on your arrival from England, and we hope that your coming to the Churches of South Africa will be a blessing.

"Before the war we had began to be very prosperous, but now through the war we are altogether ruined. All the inhabitants here were obliged to leave everything they had, and to help the colonial Government against the Kaffirs. We were nearly three years in the service of Government, and although many promises were made to us, none of them have been fulfilled. This land belongs to the Bushmen, and the British Government has recognized it as such. But now, we know not how it is, but Bushmen and Hottentots living here under Madoor are required to pay £1 each, yearly, to the Government. This law, if carried into execution, among the Bushmen, Hottentots, Fingoes, and Kaffirs here, will entirely ruin them, and, more-

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over, will drive them away. Hoping that you, sir, besides attending to our spiritual affairs, will feel for us in relation to our secular affairs, we remain with the greatest respect, your obedient servants,"

(Signed by Madoor, as Captain,
two Field Cornets,
Mr. Ullbricht, and several others.)

Translation of a Letter from MADOOR to REV. J. J. FREEMAN, dated

"*Freemanton*, *Sept.* 1, 1849.

"MUCH RESPECTED SIR,

"I wish to state my circumstances respecting this country, which was occupied by my forefathers. Of late years the Tambookies have got possession of a large portion of this land, but not the part of it which I am occupying.

"In the year 1837, the teachers and friends at Kat River brought us, by means of God's Word, out of the ravines and rocks, and they collected us in this place. This Word of God is received by many of my people. The people of Kat River have supplied us with ploughs and oxen, vegetables and clothing, sent to us in wagons; and some of these things even came from England. For all that which I possess I am indebted to the gospel and the Government. Who had ever thought that Bushmen would learn and become civilized? but 'God takes the poor from the dust, and sets the solitary in families.' The Lord hath done much for us.

"In 1846, the Government sought, through the medium of our instructors, that we should assist the English against the Kaffirs, and be united. We did so; we left our all, even without wages or clothing for our wives and children. We have for nearly three years served the Government, and the Government promised to do all that was right to me, and to secure my lands. But now, the Government has taken my land in [meaning, within the colonial boundary], without saying anything to me, and has besides imposed a tax of £1 on every head of a family, which sum is so great, that it will drive back again my poor people; because, as I have above 300 people under me, they would have to pay £300 yearly. The Government cannot raise this tax among the Kaffirs, because it would stir up war; but we, and the Tambookies, and Fingoes, and Hottentots, who were on the side of the Government, and because we are mild, are made to endure the tax. I hope that you, sir, will lay to heart our circumstances, for the Society is our father and special friend.

"Your servant,
"MADOOR."

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Both these letters, it will be seen, contain *touching appeals to the equity and humanity of Government.* Promises made, and not fulfilled!—services rendered, and not remunerated !—and £300 a year quit-rent demanded, though not more than £50 could have been obtained had Dutch farmers settled on an equal extent of land! These things demand *inquiry.*

It is said that some portions of this part of South Africa are still infested by lions. I had not the honour of receiving the attention of any of them during my progress through it. I went with peaceable intentions, and they allowed me to pass quietly. Mr. Gordon Cumming appears to have gone to South Africa with the very purpose of waging war on their whole race, and that of their fierce companions of the wild and the forest, and of course he had his share of encounters and hair-breadth escapes.

For myself, I can only relate what I heard. From various incidents mentioned, I select the following:—Some short time since three men and a boy were sleeping in the open air, while travelling through Madoor's country. Two of the men were by themselves; the other man and a boy also by themselves, wrapped up in a blanket. While they were asleep, a lion came and walked off with the two in the blanket; they effected their escape, and left the monster in the possession of their warm coverlet, and stole back to their companions to give the alarm. While the man was relating the adventure, the lion came and pounced on him, seized him by the neck, and killed him. He had just time to cry, "Shoot! shoot!" his companions did so—shot the lion in the neck, and destroyed him. Other lions were supposed to be in the neighbourhood, and the surviving two men and boy escaped as fast as they could. They returned next morning to get the body of their companion and inter it, but found that it had been devoured during the night, and the very lion which they had shot had been also devoured by some of his companions.

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Mr. Read, jun., from Philipton, had been with me during all my visit at Freemanton, and now accompanied me on my way to the Kat River Settlement. We called, during our journey thither, at the Moravian station of Shiloh, on the Klip Plaats River, and spent some little time in looking over, with much gratification, that valuable Institution. The locality is admirably adapted for its purposes. A portion of the river is led out through extensive and well-formed water-courses. These irrigate a large tract of country. By means of the produce raised, and the profits derived from an excellent corn-mill, not only have all the expenses of the Institution been met, but a considerable surplus has been created, and *out of this surplus a new Mission station is being formed*, near the Windvogel Berg. This illustrates my idea of a self-supporting Institution, and to this scheme I think we must endeavour to bring ours.

The quantity of land which is here brought under the plough is very great, say from two hundred to three hundred acres; a larger amount, I was informed, than in any other locality in the colony within the same space. Its capabilities are still great. A large proportion of these acres is cultivated for the direct use and benefit of the Institution of Shiloh. The people cultivate the rest for themselves. The gardens are large, and raise a great quantity of vegetables for use and sale; and the orchards are large, and well stocked with choice fruit-trees.

There are eight hundred people altogether on the Institution, under the charge of the Missionaries. They have, as usual, at their stations, a good carpenter's shop and smithery. The corn-mill, and expense of leading out the stream for its supply, cost about six thousand rix dollars, say £450.

The station was commenced about twenty years ago, at the suggestion of General Bourke, at that time Governor of the colony. The country had been at that period infested with robbers from neighbouring territories, who

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made incursions on the colonists, and it was proposed to establish a military post. But the suggestion of trying a Missionary station instead was adopted. The Moravians were applied to. The Rev. Mr. Halbeck, of Genadendal, visited the spot, and approved of it. Government gave £200 towards the expenses of commencing it, and now it presents an inviting and most encouraging aspect. Its chief drawback appears to be a want of wood. There is no forest at hand. Hence the difficulty the people experience in building houses. Timber is expensive. The great majority live in huts. Several houses, however, are built, and have the appearance of comfort and prosperity. The chapel, school, and Mission-houses, have an air of comfort and respectability. There are about eighty communicants. Services are held in the Dutch and Kaffir languages. The people consist of Kaffirs, Tambookies, Fingoes, Hottentots, and apprentices. The station was attacked during the war of 1847, by Mapassa and his people. They were repulsed. Captain, now Major Hogg, was stationed there with troops.* Madoor and his people were there also, as our allies, under the command of Mr. Jos. Read. No fighting took place at the village itself, although there were some engagements in the neighbouring country. An Englishman and some natives were killed and barbarously mutilated. The former was found to have received at least a hundred wounds on his body.

I have stated above, that an attack was made by the enemy on the station of Shiloh, in 1847, and that Mr. Joseph Read, with the people of Madoor, were greatly serviceable in defending it. As Mr. Read had been up to that period in connexion with our Society as a teacher, though not an ordained Missionary, I think it only due to him to insert here his letter in explanation of the case,

* This is one of the two gentlemen appointed as Assistant Commissioners to aid Sir Harry Smith, at the Cape, in relation to Kaffir affairs. See speech of Lord Gray: House of Lords, 20th May, 1851.

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with which he favoured me during my late visit. The accompanying letters from Sir Andrew Stockenstrom, and the Rev. W. Bonatz, of the Institution at Shiloh, will show also the value they attached to Mr. Read's services, and those of Madoor and his people :—

"To Rev. J. J. Freeman.

"*Philipton*, *Sept.* 1849.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"As the deputation of the London Missionary Society, I beg to lay before you a brief statement of my case, respecting my accepting the captaincy of the United Bushmen and Hottentot force, and my resigning my connexion with the London Missionary Society.

"In the month of April, 18th ult., I received a letter from Major Smith, the frontier Commissioner, desiring me to use my influence with the Bushman Chief, Madoor, and his people, and ascertain from them whether they would be willing to assist Government against the enemy. On the receipt of this letter, I at once left for the Bushman country, used my influence with these people, arranged with them, and moved them into the colony with the least possible delay. Having brought these people into the colony, I was desired to take the command of them. I at once felt myself in a very difficult position; these people would serve under no other than myself, and they all resolved, to a man, that rather than serve under any one else, they would at once move to the place from whence they came. They said I had been the means of bringing them into contact with the Government.

"Having none of my friends near me to advise with, and as there was a complete panic after the defeat of the troops at Burnshill, and seeing the determination of the men not to serve under any one else, and not wishing to lay obstacles in the way of Government, which might have proved injurious at such a crisis, I accepted the command of this force. My father and brother felt very much concerned at the step I had taken, and wrote to Sir A. Stockenstrom, Bart., who was then Commandant-General, to get me off, or give me a civil appointment in the Burgher force. He thought at that juncture of affairs it would be impolitic as well as unwise to get me off.

"It should also be borne in mind, that, not being an ordained Missionary, I was liable to be called out to serve the colony; and that, had I not accepted the captaincy, in which I could be of service to the Bushmen, I should have had to serve as a private; this I was also told. Seeing at once the incompatibility of the two offices, and wishing my case to be a precedent, I resigned my connexion with

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the Society in a letter to Dr. Philip, and desired him to forward a copy of it to the Directors.

"Though no longer an accredited agent of the Society, I shall always cherish the greatest respect towards the Directors and constituents of the Society, and continue to take a lively interest in its welfare, contribute towards its support, and aid in any way I can towards its progress. I beg to inclose Major Smith's letter, and a letter from Sir A. Stockenstrom.

"I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, your's very obediently,

"Joseph Read."

Major Smith's Letter.

[True Copy.]

"*Port Beaufort, April* 20, 1846.

"Sir,—I am directed by his Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, to communicate with you respecting the Bushman Chief Madoor, whom he is desirous of employing for the defence of the Kat River Settlement, in the event of the services of himself and people being attainable. His Honour, therefore, requests you will, either by yourself or through another, ascertain whether Madoor is willing to be so employed; and if he is, arrange with him to move as early as possible in the direction of the Kat River, where he will receive more definite instructions from Captain Sutton of the Cape Mounted Rifles.

"I need scarcely add, that, should the Chief prove himself a faithful adherent to the Government, his services will be sure to meet with favourable consideration hereafter.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "J. S. Smith, Frontier Commissioner."

Sir A. Stockenstrom's Letter.

[True Copy.]

"*December* 21, 1846.

"My dear Sir,—I have to thank you for your favour of the 3rd instant, which you will mainly find answered by my reply to the public address, and to which I can add, without flattery, that your conduct and services, while you were under my command, would do honour to any young man or officer. You have only to adhere briefly to the maxim, that nothing but truth, justice, and honesty is permanent, and with your talents and spirit, you will find yourself at home in any profession. Your juniors, H. Plaatjes, P. Ullbricht,

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D. Holta, A. Holta, and Matinus Jans, deserve my particular commendation, with many others, and I hope their services may reach the Governor's notice, through some influential channel. I wish you every happiness. I remain, dear Sir, your's very truly,

(Signed) "A. Stockenstrom."

Rev. Mr. Bonatz's Letter.

[True Copy.]

"*Shiloh*, 8*th June*, 1849.

"My dear Sir—I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 7th inst. I would likewise beg to say, that it is highly pleasing to me to see, by your letter, that the conduct of the Shiloh people, as well as Hottentots, as also Fingoes and Tambookies, who have served under you, has proved so satisfactory to you. We feel it our duty to express to you personally, as also to propose our united thanks for all services they have so faithfully performed for the protection of this place. I have also to express to you the thanks of the Bishops of the United Brethren at home, and the Directors of our Society, and to assure you that you will live in the remembrance of the Moravians as well at home as also here, for all you have done so readily for Shiloh, to save it from destruction. May He who is the only giver of all perfect happiness, bless you most abundantly in this life, and also in that which is to come. Your's faithfully,

"A. Bonatz."

We left Shiloh with some hesitation as to the weather: the clouds were gathering, and the wind was high, but on the whole it was thought we might venture, especially as fresh spans of oxen were, we expected, sent forward to meet us. By the time, however, we reached the spot we called the Deep River, in a part of the Winterberg, we found that we could proceed no further. A severe snow storm came on—it was intensely cold, and I had endeavoured to keep myself warm by walking part of the way, but I found it was impracticable. The cold seized my chest, and produced such pain, coughing, and difficulty of breathing, that I was glad to resume my seat in the wagon, and wrap myself up, and try to

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breathe warmth into my benumbed fingers. Mr. Read wisely resolved on remaining where we were; for, though on a considerable common, and therefore exposed, we found some shelter under huge masses of rock or boulders, such as, in fine weather, would form beautiful objects for sketches from nature, and such as made me wish I possessed the skill of an artist. Our people soon managed to make a fire, and we presently found the comfort of "the beverage that cheers and not inebriates." Here we remained for the night, taking the accommodations as we found them—nature's canopy, snow-clad mountains, a pelting storm, and howling winds. Two of our men found a night's lodging, free of charges, in an adjoining cave, where they were serenaded by the lion's roar, but returned to us in the morning quite unharmed, and, I think, unscared. They said they had slept well, and had been quite warm. The rest of our party stowed themselves away in our wagons, and we were thankful to find ourselves undevoured by lions, and all safe and well the next morning.

We could not, however, leave our charming hotel very early. Our resting-place had been on high ground, and it was feared the roads would be too slippery on our descent to allow the cattle to travel with safety. We set out about half-past ten, and found some parts of the road so extremely difficult, from the melting of the snow, that Mr. Read, my experienced guide, was on the point of sounding a retreat, and directing the wagons back to the spot which we had left. However, we went forward with great caution, and at length safely reached the summit of the hill in the Winterberg, or Kat River Mountain, from whence we obtained a most commanding, exhilarating, and magnificent view of the whole Kat River Settlement. We looked down on the village of Philipton, and from thence across the country to an amazing distance, including Bothas Hill, which immediately overlooks Graham's Town, about sixty miles distant. From this point our party fired four muskets,

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not as signals of distress, but to announce our approach. We afterwards ascertained that it was just so much powder thrown away, as our shots were not heard. In fact, our friends had given up all expectation of our being so near. They had set out on the previous day in a large party to meet us, accompanied by an immense body of the Sunday-school children, but were overtaken by the snow-storm, and returned home most piteously drenched, and concluded that the same storm would probably have detained us a day longer at Shiloh.

The scenery from the commanding elevation just mentioned, all the way down to the settlement, is exceedingly imposing. I was much struck with its grandeur and beauty in several points of the descent. At one point I had on my left lofty mountain-ranges, whose summits were crowned with the snow lately fallen—on the right, the opening and well-wooded and well-watered settlements of the Kat River, ravines rich in vegtation, and fertile valleys in all directions, and then beyond these, extensive ranges of hills and open country stretching away to the horizon. It formed a scene of landscape grandeur fit for a first-rate artist. From an eminence where we stood for a few moments in the course of our descent, we overlooked the settlement of "Willsdale," (so named in honour of the late Miss Wills, of London, long the steady friend of Dr. Philip and his family,) "Wilsonton," (from Thomas Wilson, Esq., of London,) and "Bruceton," (from J. Bruce, Esq., of India.) Mr. Read pointed out also "Lushington Vale," and "Readsdale." All this settlement contains about from five to seven thousand people. The whole suffered extensively during the late war with the Kaffirs: the native houses were burned, the cattle stolen, and a large amount of property destroyed. These are among the numerous evils that belong to war, "horrida bella." The payment of troops is a mere *item* in the account of the losses and miseries of war. It is the individual suffering, loss, ruin, disappointment, and discouragement that follow, with innumerable attendant moral

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evils,—laxity of sentiment, general irreligion, exasperated feeling, indulgence and licentiousness,—these corrupt many; and many in this settlement who had "walked well," turned aside, "making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience."

Somewhat fatigued by the journey, I felt thankful to reach Philipton in the course of the evening, and there found, just as I had anticipated, a cordial welcome from our devoted and unfailingly active Missionary, Mr. Read, and from all the members of his family. The house was, however, at the time a house of mourning. Death had entered it a few days prior to my arrival. Mr. Read was now a widower, and his children without a mother. The Rev. Mr. Thompson, of Balfour, had delivered an appropriate funeral address at the interment of Mrs. Read. I thought it had reflected much honour on the simplicity of her Christian character that, in her last hours, she had not only assented to her son James leaving her that he might proceed to meet me, and aid me on my journey, but calmly took leave of her affectionate son, whom she might naturally have wished to detain, to close her eyelids in death, but begged him to go, and not to suffer *her* to be an impediment in the way of his rendering any service in the cause of Missions. I was struck with this little incident. I had never known Mrs. Read, but I was assured that this afforded but a simple and truthful illustration of her thoughtful, modest, unobtrusive spirit and deportment through life.

And now having brought my tour to this point, and conducted my readers to the Hottentot settlement of the Kat River, it may be well to pause and take a brief review of the history of this people and of the settlement itself, especially as we have reached a crisis in their condition, and shall have occasion shortly to indicate a calamitous reverse in their circumstances. I propose to devote the two succeeding chapters to these subjects,—the history of the people, and the state of the Kat River Settlement. And then, as the

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calamitous reverse to which I have alluded, has come over them in connexion with the Kaffir war which is still raging there (May, 1851), I shall devote some space to that most afflictive case, and afterwards proceed with the narrative of my visit to other parts of the colony.

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CHAPTER VI.

RISE AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS—THE MORAVIAN MISSION OF 1737—APPEALS OF TRAVELLERS ON BEHALF OF THE HOTTENTOTS—THEIR MILITARY ENROLMENT—MISSIONARY INSTITUTIONS AFTER 1795—COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY — CIRCUIT COURTS — ABSENCE OF LAW — COMPULSORY SERVICE — PERSONAL VIOLENCE — BRITISH SETTLERS IN ALBANY, 1820 — COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, 1822—THE 50TH ORDINANCE, OR MAGNA CHARTA OF THE HOTTENTOTS, 1828—KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT, 1829—PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, 1835-7—CONDUCT OF THE HOTTENTOTS IN THE KAFFIR WARS, 1835-46—THEIR SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT, AND PRESENT CONDITION.

From the uniform, and not exaggerated testimony of voyagers to the disadvantage of the Hottentots, that people, towards the close of the last century, had become a proverbial type of most degraded humanity. Even those who declared them to be an ill-used people, still reported in terms of unqualified reproach, of the repulsiveness of their persons and habits; of the almost unintelligible rudeness of their speech; of their indolence, and general barbarism, without, however, imputing to them either ferocious dispositions or indomitable hostility to strangers; and to this day, eminent continental and American writers may be cited, who, ill-informed upon the recent history of those Cape aborigines, hold them still to be very little raised above Cape baboons. Nevertheless, individuals among them were long ago remarkable for excellent moral qualities, and even for superior mental attainments; and so

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early as in 1737, the Moravian Missionaries had produced material improvements in the condition and character of a considerable number of them. The Moravian Institution of that day, at the famous Genadendal, like those of all missionary societies, provided homes for the homeless, schools for the young, various mechanical occupations for the ignorant, the knowledge, the consolations, and the hopes of religion for all. When the wages of the Hottentot servant were paid in cattle, as was common, the land of the Missionary Institutions provided pasturage and safety for them. Those Institutions also enabled the serving man to obtain fair wages for his work, and good usage from his employer. It was on account of this last interference on behalf of the oppressed, that their oppressors hated the Missionaries from the first, and have never ceased to seek the suppression of the Institutions. Their importance on this head is beyond price; and none who know the Cape colony can deny them to be still indispensable on this ground alone. If no other proof could be adduced in favour of this conclusion, a powerful one would be found in the bitter hostility of many ill-judging colonists to them to this day as developed by the present Kaffir war.

The good impression made by the Moravians was deep enough to endure, visibly, many years after the mission was suspended. The distinguished traveller, Sparrman, afterwards one of the companions of Captain Cook, found members of it surviving after thirty years, who still preserved a grateful recollection of the teachers' kindnesses, and exhibited some fruits from their lessons. After an interval of fifty years, the labours of the Moravians were revived at the Cape with great effect and universal applause. Other circumstances have also favoured, and extended the change. Other Missionaries, especially those of the London Society, have contributed largely to the advancement of the Hottentots; and some humane influences in their behalf, distinct from those of the Missionaries, have prevailed, both on the part of the Govern-

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ment and among private individuals, with uniform success, whenever persevered in.

The satisfactory description of the condition and conduct of the Hottentots in various states of life, contained in the pages of this journal, is therefore given with strong confidence of its rigorous correctness. Their steady progress as Christians, and as good members of society, notwithstanding any serious obstacles, has been established beyond reasonable contradiction.

The melancholy check, however, to which a large body of them are at this moment exposed, demands that a more detailed account than would otherwise have been necessary be offered, of the means which have led to their unquestionable improvement, and of the chief circumstances of their history under British rule, together with a brief view of the difficulties against which they have now to struggle. That a people become perfectly civilized, from being barbarous within the memory of living men, should be thrown back into barbarism by the very same Government that had in various ways fostered their elevation, is a fact that must obtain a severe scrutiny.

The French traveller, Le Vaillant, following up Professor Sparrman in his kindly view of the natural dispositions of the Hottentots, and in the denouncement of the enormous cruelties they suffered from the colonists, raised a strong feeling throughout Europe in favour of their claims to more humane treatment. The appeal was in harmony with he growing good feeling of the age, out of which ultimately came the abolition of the Slave Trade by all the great states, and the emancipation of our own colonial slaves. Several Dutch writers of the time took the same enlightened view of the subject, which their Government adopted, and therefore it encouraged the Moravians to re-establish their missions among the Hottentots before the surrender of the Cape to us. Our successive conquests of the colony, in 1795 and 1806, confirmed the good prospect; and a young English official traveller, Barrow, laid the foundation of

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his future eminence by a work upon South Africa, in which he did the Moravians ample justice and warmly vindicated the cause of the Hottentots. Already, the Dutch had employed them advantagously as soldiers; and we continued them in military service. With a single exception, in 1838, when a party of sixteen of the Cape Hottentot corps put one of their officers to death, for which two of them were shot under sentence of a court-martial, they maintained, during fifty years, an unblemished character for strict fidelity and the prompt discharge of duty. This is the simple truth, as could be substantiated by the testimony of a long succession of commanders; and it has occurred without the stimulus of promotion. Serjeant-Major Hendrick of the Hottentot Cavalry, whose rightful position was that of chief of an ancient tribe, was fit, by his talents and character, for any post. He was well aware of his superiority to the young white men from whom he received orders; and he was painfully conscious too, that the rank of a commissioned officer would, according to absurdly settled usages, never be his. So much was needful to be said respecting Hottentot soldiers, seeing that a most unhappy feature of the present disasters in the Cape frontier is the desertion of many of them to the Kaffirs, with the disarming of *the whole regiment*—circumstances so utterly inconsistent with their long career, that the public judgment on the subject can only be satisfied by a most careful inquiry into the causes of the change, and all the circumstances of the case.

Two early Commissions of Inquiry—the first, that which under British rule produced Sir John Barrow's book, the second, which under Dutch authority is reported in Professor Lichstenstein's work—decided the point that humane intercourse with the aborigines is the best policy; but both left to future settlement the means by which such humane intercourse should be effectually conducted, and the bad system which both Commissions reproved, long resisted rational reform. Both of these Commissions recog-

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nised the utility of religious Missionary Institutions, which were now increased by those of the *London* Society, dealt with somewhat jealously by the Dutch Government of a colony recently conquered by England. All these Institutions, however, met with much opposition on the part of many of the colonists whose violence they checked. It was Dr. Vanderkemp, and Mr. Read, senior, who still survives, by whom some measure of justice was obtained for the Hottentots—not only for those who were at the Missionary Stations, but for the whole race, throughout the colony. An affecting appeal, from Mr. Read's pen, published in England, revealed the terrible atrocities inflicted on the Hottentots by some of the colonists, and thus led to the establishment of circuit courts. This was the first act of *civil* interference on the part of the philanthropists to serve the natives. Those courts did much to check wrong, and to stimulate the local authorities to do right; but how ineffectual all the means yet employed for this end have proved, may be inferred from the astounding declaration of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, a few years ago, before the assembled Cape public, that *one-tenth part of the injuries inflicted on the natives of South Africa had not yet been told to the British Parliament, the British Government, and the British nation!*

At this period, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, some of the eastern Hottentots still possessed cattle, with land of their own; but they were generally fast sinking by the operation of a wretched administration of the law, under a system of policy not less absurd than cruel, and under gross prejudices which impolicy and injustice fatally encouraged. They were compelled to serve at inadequate wages, and they were consequently most wretchedly clothed, ill-lodged, and so driven to steal to get sufficient food. The sheep-skin kaross of the days of their independence was a rich mantle compared with the mangled rags now allowed them; their well-filled bee-hive of former times was a palace before the bare hut given on sufferance

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by the colonist; the offal of his slaughter-house, for the Hottentot's women and children, was comparative starvation. In short, the lot of the Hottentot was one of unremitting and unrequited toil.

The last Hottentot occupant of his own land, Stuurman, being hateful to the colonists, who saw in his independence a reproach to their cupidity, and a refuge to his oppressed fellow countrymen, was at last entrapped, and, after being shut up in a small island in Table Bay, he was hurried off illegally to New South Wales. His case was strongly represented to England, and he was ordered to be restored home. Mercy came too late—he had died at Sydney, a banished exile, although not a convicted criminal!

After being stripped of their lands, the Hottentots were deprived of their liberty, without having the poor protection of an owner's interest in their welfare. They were compelled to submit to forced service, and too often subjected to cruel personal violence, with insufficient means of redress. Their children were liable to apprenticeship, like slaves, for long terms of years. They were themselves confined to narrow districts, on pain of punishment as vagrants. The written contract itself, intended for their protection, was perverted to their ruin, as seen in the following cases:—A large number of the members of a Missionary Institution had, so lately as in 1829, been inveigled by a neighbouring colonist to serve him, in consideration of debts incurred for brandy. As a first term was working out, he let the men have more brandy at exorbitant prices, and took from them engagements to continue to serve him. In one case he had taken such an engagement for forty-nine years—in many others for shorter periods. The wages stipulated were exceedingly low, as the *debts* were to be paid by the service of the men. The result was great destitution in their families, and general misery. The magistrates refused to interfere with the "contracts," which were in due form. What was to be done? Legal advice was taken at

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Cape Town; and at the Circuit Court the formidable *contracts* were attached for fraud. The plea succeeded, and they were all quashed, with great threats of appeal against the decision. The triumph against the oppressor was great; but it was gained only by a concurrence of favourable circumstances,—the liberal support of the Missionary patrons of the Hottentots, the means of making a patient inquiry into the extraordinary complication of knaveries in which the unconscionable colonist had entangled these poor labourers, and the presence of a just judge familiar with the character of all the parties.

Another group of cases occurred at another Missionary Institution, Bethelsdorp. They were the cases of Hottentots beaten and picketed by colonists with singular barbarity. The offenders were pursued at the magistrate's petty court, but only with partial success. Every evasion was practised that a partial functionary could resort to, and several of the complaints rejected, against the clearest evidence. In this case, however, an appeal was addressed to the Governor of the colony, and the functionary punished for his manifest injustice, by removal from his post.

These were some events of unceasing occurrence, which the arrival of British settlers in Albany, in 1820, rather aggravated than checked; but a second time philanthropic interference came in aid of the aborigines. In 1822, Mr. Wilberforce was their advocate; and the impatience of the settlers under grievances peculiar to themselves, compelled the home Government to send a new Commission of Inquiry to South Africa. The result was a grave exposure of the injuries so long done to the Hottentots, and a full vindication of the Missionary Institutions, at which mainly they were protected. It had long been a favourite object with many inconsiderate colonists to seek for the suppression of these Institutions, on the ground of their encouraging the Hottentots in idleness. The real objection to them was, that they helped the labourer to stand firm on his

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demand for reasonable wages. The Commissioners reported in their favour, and recommended strongly the abolition of every form of forced labour.

To these Commissioners, and to the enlightened zeal of Sir Richard Bourke, then Governor of the colony, is to be attributed the passing of a local law, afterwards confirmed in England, which has justly been called the Magna Charta of the Hottentots. This was the Fiftieth Ordinance, which simply placed these people on an *equality* with the whites—a point of vast moment in itself, but which required to be followed up by wise measures, and by their active execution, if it be wished to give real life to a principle by working it out to its legitimate consequences.

It would be an offence against truth and justice to withhold, in this portion of the history of the Hottentots which we are now reviewing, the award of honour due to the Rev. Dr. Philip, for his unremitting efforts in favour of the civil rights of that people. Not the less praise is due to His Excellency Governor Bourke, who passed that colonial Magna Charta, the Fiftieth Ordinance, because great praise is attributed to Dr. Philip for all that long series of noble and unremitting efforts, both in the colony and in England, which issued in the "consummation so devoutly wished." The voice of the cry of the oppressed would have died away on desert air, so far as human interference was concerned, had not a powerful advocacy been called forth on their behalf, and a powerful pen wielded in defence of their neglected rights. Dr. Philip knew intimately the facts of the cases of wrong and oppression under which that portion of the colonial population had writhed, and he felt that, armed with such facts, his position was strong and impregnable. His facts might be scorned, but they could not be denied. There was *evidence*, that no prejudice, nor sophistry could evade. The records of the Colonial Office contained that evidence; it would therefore have been most unwise as well as cruel to have withheld any longer the ...ous measure of Hottentot emancipation, and the

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removal of all civil disabilities from people of colour. It accorded with the benevolent sentiments and feelings of General Bourke to pass the ordinance in question. Dr. Philip was at that time in England, and, aided by powerful and influential friends of humanity, he sought, and succeeded in obtaining the Royal confirmation of the colonial measure, so that it should no longer be simply a *colonial* measure, but permanently established law, such as could be neither modified nor rescinded but by the Parliament of the nation.

Another extreme grievance to the Hottentots, since being stripped of their own lands, has been their difficulty in getting even small grants of the soil. The Government has never been so shameless as to pass a law declaring them *incapable* of holding land; but it habitually abstains from making them grants of it, and their wages are too low to enable them to make any real acquisitions. To the Parliamentary calls of 1822 and 1824, the return was 200 acres being granted to six Hottentot families in ten years; and this, in a country where a white man considers himself ill-used if his farm is under 2000 acres. It would be a melancholy addition to the fact, that one of the six grants was ordered by the Government to be taken from its Hottentot owner for an Irish settler, if the scandal had not been prevented by his honest refusal to "ruin a poor Hottentot family."

"Before I left Europe," said he, "to settle in South Africa, it never was my intention to be the cause of distressing the peaceable inhabitants in possession of their soil. Zwarts' (the Hottentot's) industry and superior cleanliness struck me to be such as to give him strong claims to the consideration of Government. I came out here determined not to be the instrument of unhappiness to any individual, and I should ill discharge my duty, as a man and a Christian, were I to accept of Varkens' Fountain, to the ruin of a poor Hottentot family."

Dr. Philip faithfully records the case; and the name of the colonist, William Parker, of Cork, well deserves the tribute of honour thus paid to his noble disinterestedness.

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A time came for change on this head; and in furtherance of it, a free Hottentot settlement was formed in 1829, at the Kat River, on the frontier—one of the scenes of the present Hottentot disasters. It was a great error to place them upon a spot from which the Kaffirs were just ejected; but it was worse to limit their grants mainly to such a locality. The sparseness of population being the bane of the Cape colony, a liberal distribution of land in small parcels to the poorer coloured people would fill up many a gap, to their benefit and the public advantage.

The conduct of the Hottentots in their new homes was beyond all praise; and men of every class have acknowledged it, except those who want their services for too low wages. To a claim which they modestly made after being ten years settled, to be allowed to serve on juries at the Circuit Court, the Attorney-General replied, with a frank admission of their title to this distinction, by "worthily elevating their social condition in a course of prosperous industry."

Unworthy enemies they have had in their new homes, upon this exposed frontier, as they had them in their sheltered Missionary homes. Even a superintendent of the settlement, who was to protect them, but imprudently selected from among the prejudiced colonists, ventured to make an official report, full of mis-statements to their discredit. The Governor of the colony rashly believed the false statement, and gave it forth with the sanction of his approving proclamations. Both were rebuked as they deserved, by the local press; and what was felt more severely by the offending functionary, the Governor's successor, the present Sir Harry Smith, after examining minutely the whole of the slandered settlement, accepted its vindication as complete.

But the testimony of Governors, and other visitors to the Kat River settlement, is not needed in England, to inform the public what manner of men the Hottentots are, ɔ inhabit that settlement. One of these men has been

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seen and heard among us. He worthily represented his people before a Committee of the House of Commons. At many meetings throughout the country, he proved to willing hearers, that eloquence and high principle are not the exclusive attributes of Europeans. In Andries Stoffels, the despised Hottentot stood before the civilized world, a perfectly civilized man, and a Christian; and it is deeply to be deplored, that his unexpected decease, as he was reaching home, prevented that good and able man confirming by his report of what he saw in England,—the trust of his kindred in our justice, and their hopes of a better future under our protection.

The Committee of 1835-7, before which Stoffels appeared, furnished new grounds for the claims of the aborigines, but failed to follow up its own convictions. The minister of the day doubted its utility, although Parliament accepted it with acclamation. It formed the third example of the successful interference of the philanthropists in the civil affairs of the natives, connected with the colonies.

Even after the Kaffir wars of 1835 and 1846, the Hottentots had still to wage the old struggle against prejudice. In vain had they stood in the breach, and covered the colonists from many assaults. A powerful party hates them, and the Government still halts between two opinions respecting them. It dares not, and can hardly wish to countenance the avowed object of many to destroy their freedom, and directly make them drudges. But its acts tend to their ruin. It appoints over them magistrates who *must* side with their enemies—who are their enemies—and whom it rebukes too late when acting hostilely against them. A *vagrant* law—in effect, the old system of forced service—is perpetually asked for; which the Government encourages, by leaving the questions open to consideration, and by denying to the Hottentots the share of the public lands which is their right, and would effectually check vagrancy. The Government even encourages the

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foolish, wicked outcry against Missionary Institutions, by leaving their continuance open to doubt. Thus there has grown up an alarm in the minds of the Hottentots, productive of the worst effects; and that alarm is justified by the way in which they have lately been treated. A witness of the highest authority, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, last year warned the Cape Government of its danger; and his warning contains a detail of the gravest facts:—

"Last Tuesday," said he, "9th July, 1850, arrived at this place, Botha, of Kat River. This man is a rude, unlettered functionary, but Her Majesty has not in her dominions a more loyal subject nor a braver soldier; and by his services during the Kaffir wars of 1835 and 1846, he has conferred a lasting obligation on the colony and its government. He addressed me, as nearly as I can give them literally, in these words:—

"'I know that your usual answer will be, that we are mad in coming to you with our grievances, as you are nothing more than a Boer in the land; but unless you die or fly the country, you shall have to hear the groans of every oppressed class in South Africa; and such is the state of excitement in the Kat River at present, that without some assistance or advice, I do not know how to prevent serious consequences. You must remember the immigration of some families of the Gonaqua Hottentots into the Kat River settlement, some twenty years ago, many of whom obtained erfs, and others, promises of similar grants. They ever considered themselves as much Her Majesty's subjects as I am, and as such did Burgher duty, and fought bravely for the British Crown, during both the Kaffir wars. They paid taxes to the colonial Government as long as they were exacted, were a tower of strength to the rear districts, and there never was any complaint against them. Some time since, a number of Kaffirs came and squatted down in the settlement: the inhabitants requested that they might be removed. Accordingly, this was done under the direction of the civil Commissioner of Fort Beaufort; but immediately after this proceeding, the Kat River magistrate, heading a body of Kaffir police, caused to be burned out not only those who had come in since the war, but the Gona-Hottentots, to the last who had been twenty years in the settlement, with all the Fingoe servants. Not a moment's warning was given. I remonstrated, the Hottentots entreated for their friends in vain; nothing availed, neither the cries of the children, nor the tears of the mothers, some of whom were in ..bed with babes of three or four days' old, on one of the coldest

days of this inclement season, and that on a Sunday (the day of peace, rest, and prayer), when even if the act had been lawful, there was not the remotest pretext for haste. The Kaffir police held the firebrands ready to ignite the huts, whilst the inmates and property were being bundled out of them—the Kaffir police exultingly shouting, 'To day we burn Botha out of the Blinkwater, as he burnt us out of the Amatola last war.' The police took possession of all the cattle, some of which has been lost. Thus about fifty families have been burnt out, who were our friends, protectors, and defenders in two wars, and driven like felons and outlaws among the very enemies against whom they fought, and at whose mercy they will be. The magistrate has dismissed me; why, I cannot tell. Is it possible, that British subjects have to submit to such treatment?

"'Now here you have another case.—In Lower Blinkwater, *the commonage belonging to and measured out for the village* has been given to a white man, who has been appointed superintendent. It is of course quite impossible to keep from the land the cattle of the villagers, to whom this land belongs, and which cattle has been for years accustomed to graze thereon; the consequence is, that the cattle of these villagers, the lawful proprietors of the land, are almost daily impounded by the said superintendent, who enriches himself by the penalties which he claims as damages. Can human forbearance long submit to such galling oppression?

"'We have lately had a case in which the magistrate sentenced some persons to enormous fines, and others to hard labour. The sentence was carried into execution; the Government found it so unjust that it ordered the money to be returned; but for those who were dealt with as felons, there is not a shadow of redress!' . . .

"My answer to Botha was this:—'You are not without remedy. If the local Government can give you no redress, you have the colonial Secretary of State to complain to, and failing there, your appeal lies to Parliament. For despair there is no cause. . . . The Sovereign assuredly wishes you to be governed with justice and equity.' . . .

"To the agitated complainant I deemed it unnecessary to say more; but to her majesty's ministers and the twelve judges in Westminster, I would respectfully submit the question, whether there exist any power on the face of the earth, competent to march an armed force into the colony, especially one composed of what we are pleased to call 'irreclaimable savages and untameable wolves,' to destroy the property of, and maltreat and oppress her Majesty's peaceable, loyal subjects, in the manner above detailed.

"The Kat River people, so lately and so justly considered one of the most loyal communities in the colony, after having been twice

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mainly instrumental in saving the colony, and being rewarded by malicious calumny and the denial of justice, have from later events taken it into their heads that a plot exists somewhere to goad them on to some excess, and furnish the plea for their expulsion from the only nook in the land of their fathers which remains to them, and in which they hoped to rest the last ashes of their expiring race. Of the present feelings of these men Botha is a specimen."

Hence the present crisis. Hence the rebellion of so many Hottentots. Hence the indiscriminate vengeance of the commander of the frontier upon the Kat River people. Hence the advocates of brutal force in Albany are tempted to take advantage of this crisis, to call for the suppression of Missionary Institutions.

The military commander seizes the whole Hottentot population, confiscates all their property, and breaks up the settlement. The illegality of his act, *even under martial law*, is as notorious as the innocence of many of these people is capable of plain proof. Success, too, has so blinded the enemies of the Hottentots, that the fury of the soldier in the field has extended to the reflections of the closet.

"On the eastern frontier," says the leading journal of the prejudiced colonists, "a contest between stern justice and mistaken philanthropy has been raging upwards of thirty years. Were it competent to decide the issue on the spot, this could not endure. Unfortunately the case had to be referred to the Home Government, and to the British people, who, influenced by certain powerful, presumedly religious associations, have given their voices against their fellow-countrymen. There has, however, never been so important a crisis as is now at hand, and each party, finding it bears very much the aspect of a death-struggle, is preparing its weapons accordingly. The voice of every colonist must be loud in demanding, that every Institution, where a number of the coloured races are, or can be drawn together, shall be broken up, and restricted from re-assembling. If we destroy, or prevent the building of the nest, we shall not be liable to the incursions of the brood." — *Graham's Town Journal, March* 15, 1850.

And well does this organ of the Border colonists, mis guided by the circumstances of their position, appreciate

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the spirit which these events will rouse in England. It is to the impartial public at home that the appeal, made in times past with effect, must be made again. Wilberforce and Buxton, the early defenders of the Hottentots, when just escaping from the deepest degradation, must now tread in their fathers' steps, and hold out a helping hand to men upon whom former aids were not thrown away. Such an appeal *home* saved the remnant of the Hottentots in 1808; strengthened them in 1822; added to them new strength in 1836; and must now, in this last "death-struggle," prove to mankind at large, that we are not sunk below the men from whom we have sprung.

The Aborigines Committee of 1835-7, proposed commissions of local inquiry into the condition of all the aborigines connected with the colonies. The proposition should be revived. The expense of Commissioners from England is not necessary in all cases. On the contrary, with one sent from home for each great group of colonies, there should be associated several of the inhabitants of various classes *and colours.* The result would be a body of evidence, upon which systems of humane policy, suited to the peculiar wants of each locality, could be formed, and, what is of vast importance, dispositions to realize such systems would be fostered among the inhabitants of each locality.

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CHAPTER VII.

KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT—ITS ORIGIN—PARTIES EMIGRATING THITHER—ENTHUSIASM—FREEDOM—TESTIMONIES—OUT-STATIONS—RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS—CHURCH GOVERNMENT—SCHOOLS—PRESS—VISIT TO LOCATIONS—SCENERY—FOLIAGE—TINTS—INDUSTRY OF NATIVES—NATIVE HOSPITALITY—GEOLOGY—MAN IN LION'S MOUTH—SUBSTITUTE FOR BELLS—KAT RIVER NO FAILURE—TREATMENT—EXAMINATION OF SCHOOLS—PRINTING—LETTER TO DEPUTATION—DIAGRAMS—THINGS THAT ARE WANTING—SCOTCH MISSION—LANDSCAPE—CHILDREN—ORDINATION AT TIDMANTON—TESTIMONIAL OF ELDERS AND DEACONS—NATIVE IMPROVEMENT—LETTER FROM VAN ROOYEN.

THE preceding chapter has contained a sketch of the *civil* history of the Hottentots generally, in their relation to the Cape Colony. This chapter may be suitably devoted to their history in connexion with the settlement of the Kat River in particular, and embracing the *religious* as well as the civil aspect of the case. It has been stated that the Hottentots were brought to the settlement in 1829. Some striking circumstances in relation to that movement were related in a Report delivered at a public meeting, held at Philipton, Kat River, in September, 1851. I shall avail myself of a portion of it. The public meeting was held on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Rev. J. Read's arrival as Missionary in the colony. The Report states, that "the Commissioner-General, now Sir Andries Stockenstrom, and the Governor of the colony, Sir G. L. Cole, the originators of the project, and to whom the execution of it was intrusted, went personally in some instances and sent in others, to the Missionary Institutions, villages, towns,

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and other places in the colony, to invite the coloured classes to emigrate to the Kat River. This was intended to render the natives some amends for the loss of the extensive country possessed by their forefathers, and for the various wrongs which had been inflicted on them. The measure was designed also politically, for the defence and protection of this line of frontier. Prior to this period no person of colour had held land in the colony,"—not because they were interdicted from doing so by any positive law, but simply as arising out of the unfavourable circumstances in which they were held.

"The parties then, who were disposed to emigrate and to try their fortunes at the Kat River Settlement, took their property with them. In the amount of it they differed considerably from one another, as well as in intelligence, and the habits of civilized life. Those that came from the Baviaans' River, and who are designated Bastaards, and others of the same class from among the Boers or farmers, were generally men of some property, consisting of oxen, horses, sheep and goats. In manners and customs, and in their degree and form of civilization, they naturally resembled the farmers among whom they had been brought up, and from whom they claimed paternal lineage. In religious matters they adopted the Dutch form of church government. They were a moral, thrifty, and industrious people.

"The emigrants who came from the towns, villages, and Missionary Institutions, possessed the same kind of property, but to a less extent. They had, however, considerably the advantage of their companions in general knowledge. Many of them, too, had made considerable attainments in the industrial arts, and were good carpenters, masons, wheelwrights, and smiths. From their frequent intercourse with European Missionaries and their families, their manners were improved, and they were, moreover, to a large extent, people of religious habits. Such were the elements of which this new social body was

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formed. Each party brought its own quota of strength and distinctive qualification to this experimental society of enfranchised men. Each party was no doubt of considerable service to the other, and by the influence of each acting reciprocally on the other, the whole body improved. While the one perhaps excelled in inspiring the religious sentiment, the other rendered good service in such a community, by awakening and strengthening the burgher sentiment. The people from the Institutions had largely acquired the habit of self-government, while those from among the farmers, having been under constant control, and strict, if not even severe surveillance, were so far less independent. But all were strictly loyal men, and they united with much harmony in this new community.

"A well-known spot near the entrance to the Kat River Valley, now called William's Town, * was the appointed rendezvous, where these emigrants assembled by hundreds, and it may be said, by thousands. It was a sort of journey to Canaan. It was a spectacle altogether unique in South Africa, and wore the aspect of enthusiasm and high expectation. Some came on pack oxen, some on sledges, some in carts, and all who could, in wagons, either of their own, or obtained from the Missionary Institutions. Those from Theopolis had the most property, and were perhaps, from associating with the British settlers of Albany, the most intelligent. Those who came from Bethelsdorp were poor, but pious and well conducted.

"It is related in history, that when the power of imperial Rome was on the decline, and she was obliged to *curtail* the limits of her dominions, heralds were sent out to the hitherto subject states, to announce their independence. So unexpected was the change, and so eventful the theory, that a herald, after having proclaimed freedom to the provinces, felt as if he had been under an illusion, and he came back to ask the messenger *whether it were a reality.*

* It was then called the Fort, and is the spot where the excellent Missionary, Joseph Williams, of the London Missionary Society died.

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This the Psalmist of Scripture calls 'being like them that dream,' when the Lord turned the captivity of his people. It was precisely thus with the newly arrived settlers at the Kat River. They could scarcely believe their senses, or realize their freedom and new heritage. 'This was the Lord's doing, and it was wonderful in their eyes.' The Commissioner-General was on the spot, and addressed the new burghers on their altered position and prospects in life, encouraging them to habits of industry, sobriety, morality, and religious feeling, and obedience to the laws of the country.

"This done, he formed them into parties, under a principal, who was called the head of such a party. These were directed to select spots on which to locate themselves, and divide the lands into 'erven' or lots. They did so, and in a very short time were seen dams, sloots, and aqueducts, led out with much labour, and good gardens and cultivated fields springing up in numerous directions. The testimony of colonial, Indian, and European tourists and travellers, civil and military functionaries of every rank, advocates, judges, and governors, who have visited the settlement, have related, with many encomiums, the industry, perseverance, fortitude, and morality of the native settlers. Some may have come with the elation and expectation of the pursuers of the golden fleece, or may have dreamt of riches by exemption from labour and toil, but they were soon undeceived. They had to make their own way, by the sweat of their brow, and through many discouragements. As their situation was an experiment, the founders of it gave them no pecuniary or other aid, excepting a small quantity of Indian corn seed to each person; and, although they were constantly out on military duty, they got no rations of any kind.

"The sufferings which the people had to endure in the first years of the settlement, were very great; but where European settlers would have utterly failed, the native emigrant, by his knowledge of the natural products of the

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country, leeks, berries, &c. technically called 'veld kos,' *field provisions*, remained buoyant, and succeeded.

"Nor were these the only trials and difficulties they had to encounter. Not like the captives from Babylon, while rebuilding the ancient house of prayer, had they to use the trowel and the sword, but the firelock and the sword in either hand, to keep out the high-spirited Gaikas, who, with their young chief Macomo, the Kaffir Achilles, had been driven out of these their patrimonial lands by the Commissioner-General and Colonel Somerset, for reasons which we do not here rehearse, but which are fully recorded in the evidence of the Committee of Parliament which sat on aboriginal affairs in 1836. Although then they were subject to accumulated troubles and duties, the knowledge that their new station was a great moral and political experiment, and that they were a spectacle to the world, infused new life into them,—an enthusiasm that acted with electric force on every fibre of mind, and muscle of body.

"The Commissioner-General next appointed native functionaries, viz., a commandant, with several field-cornets and heads of parties. Their duties were civil as well as martial;—to settle or arbitrate petty cases, and to lead the men on patrols, commandoes, and wars. In greater matters, they were subject to the courts in Fort Beaufort and Graham's Town. By this means, speedy and cheap justice was obtained, and litigiousness, which in such a state of society is common, was prevented. Sir A. Stockenstrom, who had read and studied human nature and the varied interests of society comprehensively, and had great knowledge of jurisprudence and the art of government, knew exactly the wants of such a community. As many legal offences are artificial and capricious, and even the laws of a country and the precedents of its legal courts, may, in their application, be either too wide or too narrow, too light or too crushing, and so may prove highly disadvantageous to a people, the Commissioner encou-

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raged the people to settle, as much as possible, their civil cases by an appeal to the seniors. This succeeded well, and Commandant Groepe, with his field-cornets and heads of parties, entertained and decided cases with patriarchal simplicity, authority, and effectiveness.

"What, then, have been the *religious* institutions and proceedings of the settlement? The people of Bethelsdorp, before leaving the colony, had invited their Missionary, Mr. Read, sen., to accompany them. Certain jealousies in the colony created difficulties in the way of this arrangement, but ultimately it was effected, and has proved of great value. The population of the whole settlement amounts now to about 5000, the great majority of whom are connected with the London Missionary Society. The central station is Philipton; a second important station is at Balfour, and a third has been formed at Blinkwater, recently called Tidmanton.

"At Philipton, a large chapel, eighty feet by forty-five, was being built prior to the war of 1846, and would long since have been finished but for that fatal and melancholy interruption.

"The people subscribed very liberally in both money and materials towards it. The Society also aided it by a grant. From exposure, the walls have been greatly damaged, and a large part will have to be taken down. The old chapel was burnt down during the war, but has since been rebuilt; and which when the new one shall be finished, will be converted into school-rooms.

"There are also eleven out-stations in the Kat River. Before the war there were twelve day-schools, and several infant-schools in operation, with a daily attendance of from 700 to 1000 children. There are at present eight only in operation, from the reduction of expenses made by the deputation, and in consequence of the people not having been able to raise the £300 which they guaranteed for the carrying on of the work.* It is much to be

* The maximum income of the Auxiliary Society, before the war so often spoken of, was above £300 per annum.

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lamented, that such institutions should languish for want of pecuniary aid. Without good schools the people will assuredly retrograde in civilization and Christianity. The schools are managed by a committee, composed of the senior Missionary as chairman, and two members from each of the eleven out-stations. The schoolmasters were all trained at Philipton. Within ten years, forty male and female teachers have been trained at Philipton, at a cost of about £5 each, annually.

"The church at Philipton is constituted on the Presbyterian-Independent model. The church court is composed of ministers, elders, and deacons. The two last are re-elected every two years. Every member has a vote in the affairs of the church. Besides the church officers, there are above twelve lay or local preachers, who, in rotation, preach at all the out-stations, (some of which are from seven, ten, and twelve miles from the central station) every Sunday. The congregation varies on Sundays from 400 to 500,—on sacramental occasions to between 600 and 700,—and at the anniversaries to above 1000. The members of the church are about 600.

"A church court, composed of the ministers and church officers, is held monthly, and on the Saturday night preceding the first Sunday in the month, the church meeting is held.

"Here is also a Missionary committee composed of the ministers and representatives from all the out-stations. The chairman and secretary are members of the congregation. There is a Juvenile Missionary Society, whose object it is to send teachers to the neighbouring tribes; Mrs. J. Read, the Misses Read, and other pious women, are the managers. The male branch is under a male juvenile committee. Bazaars, too, are held by the female committee, for the object above specified. Before the ruinous war of 1846, there was a flourishing school of industry at Philipton, with branches at the out-stations; also Sunday and evening adult schools at these stations.

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"There is a good press at Philipton, but not worked at present for want of funds. An active press, with a weekly paper and monthly periodical, with a good central or normal school at Philipton, and some other good schools at Wilsonton, Lushington, and Buxton, are things greatly to be desired. But from the impoverished state of the people, through drought, and locusts, and the rust, by which successive crops of grain have been destroyed, nothing can be expected for these schemes from the people of the settlement.

"It should have been mentioned that the school-houses and schoolmasters' rooms at the out-stations, and offices for the printing-press, were built at the people's expense. The glass windows and doors were paid for by money collected in England. There are also Temperance and Tee-total societies in the settlement, which have done great good among the people.

"An agricultural society has also been established, of which the magistrate for the time being is president, and the ministers of the two denominations, field-commandant, field-cornets, and other influential persons in the settlement, are members.

"At Balfour there is the Dutch established church, of which the Rev. W. R. Thomson, a gentleman of solid and general information, piety, and amiable manners, is minister. There are two churches in connexion with this body. The one at Hertzog is a fine octagonal structure, lately built by subscription and a government grant; the other, at Balfour, is a small edifice. Mr. Thomson has several schools in his own connexion. The schools at Balfour and Wilsonton are intended for the children of families, who may be connected with either Messrs. Read's or Mr. Thomson's congregations. Mrs. Thomson, a lady of high accomplishments, has a flourishing school for Missionaries' daughters at Balfour, and teaches also several native girls.

"Mr. Thomson, from his knowledge of medicine, is of essential service to the whole settlement, often at much

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inconvenience and expense to himself. His advice is, of course, afforded gratuitously."

During my visit to Philipton I accompanied Mr. Read to see the various out-stations. One of the first was that which bears his own name, "Readsdale," a very charming location, about seven miles from Philipton. The field cornet came over early and brought a horse for my use, and then accompanied us on our return. We had some delightful scenery, and which would have been still more so, but for a mist that was hanging over a large portion of the Winterberg. The scenery is remarkably rich and grand: the magnificent and the romantic are wonderfully blended with the luxuriant and the beautiful. The lofty ranges of the Winterberg, which form the northern boundary of the settlement, constitute a scene of real sublimity and grandeur. They are said to rise about three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and are probably about fifteen hundred to two thousand feet above the settlements at their base. The forms of the mountains are diversified. but usually they are rounded and sloping towards the summits, and then often rise majestically and perpendicularly. The lower portions of this vast range run off into gentle slopes as they approach the valleys of the settlement. They are, in fact, the smaller spurs of the mountain range; the larger spurs constitute the main divisions between the settlements, and between which numerous streams fall, irrigating the lower grounds and then running off into the Kat River, which itself joins the Great Fish River. These streams are numerous, and afford a most ample and constant supply for the settlement, and they are led out by the people in numerous water-courses and add immeasurable fertility to this most interesting spot, decidedly the finest, richest, and grandest I had yet seen in South Africa. A very large portion of this mountain range is well wooded. The woods reach, in many places, to the very summits, and usually clothe the ravines to a great elevation. Neither is this mere brush-wood or low jungle,

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but timber of a great height and diameter; many of the trees are sixty feet high. Government claims the right over all the forest that is not measured into the respective allotments or settlements. I found about eighty saw-pits at work. For the right to fell the timber the people take out a license, and pay six shillings per load. They are excellent sawyers, and convey the timber so prepared to all the towns and farms for a large distance around. The most valuable timber appears to be what is termed the yellow wood, which grows to a great size, and is extensively used in building. The foliage of the forest was exceedingly fine, and the tints most richly varied. One very remarkable feature in the country about here is the *tints of the grass.* The grass was dry when I saw it, but utterly unlike our dry meadows in England; here all assumes a reddish hue, varying from a light rose-blush to a deep purple. The effect is aided by contrast, for in some places the grass had been burnt in the autumn, and the ground remains almost black; near to this again are sometimes found, from the contiguity of springs or the vicinity of shade, patches of a lively and bright green. Innumerable Eden-like spots exist, over which one is tempted to exclaim, What a charming spot for an English villa, a mansion, or a park!—May the natives themselves rise in the social state, so as to enjoy all this scenery, and the wealth and the happiness that may be realized beneath the southern skies, as much as the cultivated classes in England have enjoyed the fair portions of the earth which God has given them! Let not Ephraim envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim. Let not the European envy the Hottentot, nor the Hottentot excite the malevolence of the colonist. And this is not all: the valleys are under cultivation; the eye feasts here not only on the sublime scenery of the mountain, with its forests, ravines, and cataracts, but on the soft undulating surface of the lower grounds, and the large portion of land smiling with verdure. The orchards, well stocked with the peach, nectarine, apricot,

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and apple, remind one of portions of Herefordshire, and the neighbourhood of the Malvern hills. At the time of my visit the corn was springing up luxuriantly over acre after acre, and the humble cottages of the natives indicated the improved and still advancing condition of the people. All this spoke volumes in favour of the industrious Hottentot, that so soon after the late Kaffir war, in which he had suffered so severely, he had returned to his allotment, commenced rebuilding his house, ploughing his land, and leading out the water-courses. These natives too are *all* dressed in European clothing, and appear far more comfortable than many of our mechanics or agricultural farmers in England. They have not only sheep and goats, but their teams of oxen, horses, and wagons. Prior to the war they had about three thousand draught oxen in the settlement; poultry and pigs abounded. All these perished during the war, and the people are only just now again beginning to attend to these matters.

We held a public meeting at Readsdale, and also examined the children of the school. They evinced a highly respectable acquaintance with Scripture history.*

The Fingoes here are proving themselves to be a very industrious body of people. They cultivate the land mainly with pickaxes: the whole family, the men, women, and children, all work, all help. They sow principally Indian corn. They cannot purchase land in this settlement; but they possess great quantities of cattle. Very many of them

* After holding the meeting and examining the school, we went to the house of the field cornet. We had taken our own provisions with us, "not wishing to be burdensome to any." But our host and hostess had provided very bountifully for our reception, and they entertained us very hospitably. The table was spread, the cloth laid, and everything provided that was needful and comfortable. It seemed to me a new chapter in Hottentotism, and to many would have been a scene perfectly novel. To me it was highly gratifying. It was a civilized, intelligent, kind, and Christian native family; and I said in my heart, "Missions are not in vain, and these people are worthy of all our labours to improve them."

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attend the ministry of the Gospel, and are members of the church. These offer to contribute liberally towards the Missionary Auxiliary. The Fingoes connected with one only of our stations have voluntarily put their names down to the amount of £15 per annum.

I next visited the location called Maasdorp. The scenery is delightful. The place is extremely productive of fruit, and there is much timber felled and sawn. The people have been in easy and comfortable circumstances; but some few of them are said to be the victims of intemperance. This is the only location in the settlement having that bad pre-eminence. Hendrik Heyn, a well-informed and superior man, resides here, employing all his influence in favour of sound morals and the general improvement of the people. He is the secretary to our Society's Auxiliary in the Kat River.

In proceeding through these several locations, I was struck with the extent to which the blue lias formation prevails: we crossed it in nearly all the lower slopes of the hills down to the stream. It rests on sandstone, and is also covered by a similar formation. The streams run over horizontal beds of sandstone of great depth: these in some places terminate abruptly, and the water then falls some forty or fifty feet in perpendicular descent, adding not a little to the beauty and variety of the scenery. In other cases the water runs over basaltic dykes. Immense quantities of whinstone lie about in all directions, from large masses or boulders to small fragments. In the blue lias, organic remains have been found, I understand, of the saurian kind and the tortoise.

It would be unnecessary here to state in detail my visits to all the several locations of the settlement. I must satisfy myself with remarking, that I went to them. Beside the places already mentioned I went to Buxton, Lushington, Bruceton, Willsdale, Vanderkemp, Upshaw, and Wilberforce,* examined the schools, addressed the people,

* Mankazana is another station, but which I only saw from the

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saw their actual position, their houses, gardens, and lands, their occupations and general indications of improvement. I cannot say that I felt everywhere satisfied. I cannot say that I think the people have everywhere done all they could in advancing their own condition and that of their families. But I certainly felt that no unprejudiced man would have said, "The Kat River settlement is a failure," as Mr. Biddulph did in his Report to Sir Henry Pottinger. And I certainly felt, that Sir Harry Smith, the present Governor, said only what did credit to his judgment and honesty, when, in reference to Mr. Biddulph's remarks, he exclaimed, "*This* a failure! then the whole world is a failure—everything is a failure!"

The grand thing is, that *the people require equitable treatment and kind encouragement.* They have suffered, as already intimated, from repeated Kaffir wars, in which they have been called to the defence of the colony. They have suffered, besides, occasional visitations of other scourges. They should have been rewarded by the

top of the mountain of that name. One of the chief men there is Alie Arends. He was once caught by a lion, and his head was actually between the jaws of the enormous monster. He prayed that God would have mercy on him and spare him. He says, even if he had never prayed before, he did then most earnestly. His life was spared, and the animal let go his terrific hold, and left him. Izaac Arends, schoolmaster at this village, is the son of Alie. At some of these out-stations, it became almost ludicrous to see what expedients Necessity, the mother of Invention, had adopted, in the absence of village bells, to summon the people together for public worship. In one place I saw an "old saw" suspended by a cord, emitting its gentle sound as struck by hammer or a stone; and in another place, actually a frying-pan used for this purpose, for which certainly it was never originally nor legitimately intended. I love the village bells of old England, and our "bonnie Christ Church bells," and I detest the monotonous, barbarous ding-dong of our Sunday morning summons. Could not the latter be spared and shipped for South Africa? They might do there. If not, will not some kind-hearted Christian, some man that has "music in his soul," make a present of two or three small bells adapted to the purpose?

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Government for their services, and the magistrates placed over them should have been such as would insure their respect for impartiality, and their confidence for their sympathy. No reason should be given them to complain of neglect, harsh treatment, and ungenerous, not to say unjust measures, on the part of their rulers. Were all this secured, there would be no suspicions of disaffection, no indications of disloyalty. And not only would there be no ground to complain of disloyalty, there would be the strongest grounds for confidence in the unshaken allegiance of this people. Our claims on them would be augmented, and they would gratefully respond to them. They are in a condition to be led onward. They are ready to make efforts to assist themselves. I feel assured that, if only peace could be preserved, and the seasons should prove tolerably favourable, so that the people might reap the fruit of their labours, they would improve their resources, and would cheerfully employ a fair proportion of them in the payment of teachers for their children, the erection of schools, the working the press, and all that pertains to their social advancement.

A public examination of the schools was held during my visit. About three hundred children were present. They met in an open space of ground. The school from each settlement carried a flag, having some appropriate motto. After singing a few verses of an English hymn, all marched in regular order into the chapel, where they passed through the examination in a very creditable manner. Many children were absent for want of suitable clothing. It has been a drawback for some time past, that the salaries of the teachers have been too low to secure efficiency. Competent teachers have resigned, and their places have been occupied by young women, who, though indefatigable and most praiseworthy, have not been fully equal to the task assigned them. The infant and day schools at Philipton have enjoyed superior advantages under two of Mr. Read's daughters.

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Considering the great difficulties under which the people generally have laboured since the last war, and the consequent disadvantages of the children in relation to education, I should pronounce the examination satisfactory. But at the same time I must add, that decided and vigorous steps are necessary to secure improvement. A good normal school would be of essential service, where, by training a superior class of teachers, the whole settlement would soon share the benefit. But pecuniary resources are wanting to meet the expenses incurred.

There is also a printing press here, which was presented by the friends at Sheffield to Andries Stoffels, for the use of the settlement; but there are not adequate means to provide for its being employed,—a circumstance *deeply* to be regretted. The people themselves were most anxious to see it in operation, and hoped they might be able by economical arrangements to defray its expenses. The parents would purchase books for their children in the schools, and if a cheap magazine was published, it would sell, they thought, sufficiently to leave some profit towards the general expenses of the press. The Kaffir war has thrown a dark cloud over all these brightening prospects.

The opportunities which I had of meeting the native members of the auxiliary committee, gave me a favourable impression of the intelligence of the people. It may afford some illustration of this, if I introduce here a translation of a letter put into my hands soon after I had reached the settlement, addressed to me by Hendrick Heyns, as secretary to the Auxiliary:—

"RESPECTED SIR, THE DEPUTATION,—It is with the greatest pleasure that we welcome you as the deputation from the Parent Society. With your character as a friend to the natives of this country, a zealous Missionary in Madagascar, and one of the able secretaries of the Parent Society, we have been made acquainted by our teachers. The Parent Society has been known to us for fifty years, and its history is bound up with the introduction of Christianity, of civilization and freedom among the Hottentot natives. And in the words of Mr. Fairbairn we can say, that the history of the Missionary Society is the history of

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Christianity, civilization, and freedom among the native tribes of this country. We heartily welcome you as the deputation of the Parent Society, and shall with pleasure hear you state the objects of your visit, and we hope to enter cordially into all your plans. You will have seen, sir, what, before the last war, it was our purpose to do on behalf of the Society, and although at present we have our difficulties, we hope, in a short time, to take our position again among the churches of South Africa.

"The following are the principal points on which the liberty and progress of the coloured people depend:—

"1. The support of their own teachers.

"2. The extension of the gospel among the heathen.

"3. The use of the 'press.' On this point we wish to have your advice. 'The land is barbarous in which there is no press.' And it is a painful truth that there is not a paper or magazine for the natives. The mass of the people live in ignorance, and we hope that you, sir, will wake up our teachers on this point. An uneducated people is weak and dark in all respects. As to the use of the press, we wish only for your counsel, and we will attend to the matter of expense.

"4. Good schools for the education of our children.

"5. The political affairs of the land.

"The approaching African Parliament, which, while it will afford new and exalted privileges to the Hottentots and other classes, will also introduce new difficulties, because it will give new power to the colonists, and will diminish, in that proportion, the civil power of England.

"It was highly needful that a deputation should be sent out. It was our intention, sir, to have met you on horseback. The women and children, also, would have met you on foot, but the weather hindered it. Many of the men, however, went to the Kat Berg on Wednesday. Again, we say to you, sir, Welcome to the settlement. In the name of the Missionary Committee and the church.

"H. HEYN."

On all these points I met the members of the Committee, and found them prepared to discuss the matters like men of business,—thoughtful, intelligent, and earnest. They adverted also to the question of diagrams of the lands which they occupy, and which, though repeatedly promised, they have never received from the Government, and without which they do not feel they have any permanent security of the property on which they are located,

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or sufficient inducement to improve it as they else would. I intimated to them my fears that, supposing they had the diagrams, and a power of disposing of the lands, they might be tempted to part with them for some seeming temporary advantage; that unprincipled colonists might offer them such advantage, and thus ultimately the settlement might be lost to the Hottentots, and the original design of the Government completely frustrated. They admitted there was force in this, but thought provision could be introduced that would prevent the evil deprecated, and that at any rate it was worth while to obtain the diagrams, even with the risk of some danger and cost.

While at Lushington I rode over to the Mission station at Chumie, under the Scotch brethren of the United Presbyterian Church, and where I hoped to meet my old friend, Mr. Niven. Other engagements had, however, rendered it impossible for him to be there. I spent a short time with Mr. and Mrs. Cumming, and the widow, Mrs. Chalmers, and her large family.

From the summit of Mankazana Hill, the prospect is magnificent. It would be difficult to find a spot here in which nature has not profusely lavished her beautiful treasures. All the elements of grandeur and loveliness are combined. No artist could desire finer landscapes;—but who can paint like nature? Here are bold and lofty mountains, ranges of hills of every form, colours of all tints, deep ravines and sequestered glens, bright and glittering surfaces, dark shadows, luxuriant vales, broken precipices, jagged prominences, quiet nooks, rivulets and cascades, trees graceful and magnificent, the bright mimosa and the sombre yew, an intensely clear atmosphere, splendid azure skies, and nights of overwhelming glory. "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!" Who could gaze unmoved on such scenes? Who would not exclaim, with thrilling ecstasy, "The heavens are telling the glory of God;" "the earth, O Lord, is full of thy

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riches!" When the first week in the history of our planet was closing, the Creator "beheld all that he had made, and, behold, it was very good." It remains so still.

During my visit to Blinkwater, subsequently called Tidmanton, I was greatly delighted with the remarkably healthy appearance of the children of that settlement and its neighbourhood. I think about two hundred came to meet me, with their teachers, and many of their parents. I was never so struck with such a collection of fine, noble, vigorous, intelligent, happy countenances. The children ranged from six or seven years of age, up to about fourteen or fifteen. For the most part they were Gona and Fingo children, belonging to Tidmanton; the others were Kaffirs, belonging to parents connected with Hermanus.

The members of the church and congregation at Tidmanton were very desirous of having their native teacher, Mr. Arie Van Rooyen, ordained over them, as co-pastor with the Rev. J. Read, jun., who had for a long time sustained the office of pastor among them, as well as co-pastor with his father at Philipton. Such an arrangement, I knew, was in perfect harmony with the sentiments and wishes of the Directors of our Society; and, having received the highest testimonials in favour of Mr. Van Rooyen, I felt happy in facilitating the measure so far as was in my power. The people agreed to raise the salary requisite for his support. A day was accordingly appointed for the service. A large congregation attended. Everything was conducted in a manner befitting such an occasion, and I have not found any reason for entertaining the remotest misgiving as to the propriety of the step. Our operations at Tidmanton are, it is true, mournfully interrupted at present. This arises, not in any degree from these arrangements, but from the course of the Kaffir war, one of the direst calamities that could have overtaken the people.

It was to my mind a very interesting part of this service, when, on the members of the church being asked to

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signify their choice of Mr. Van Rooyen to be one of their pastors, one of their number present rose and read, with an audible voice and suitable expression, a paper, of which the following is a translation (the original of which now lies before me in a good and plain hand):—

"*Tidmanton, 3rd Oct.*, 1839.

"Having had evidence for many years of the high measure of piety, the unceasing zeal, and the aptness to teach, of our brother Arie Van Rooyen, who for many years, has ministered as an elder and unordained preacher of the Word, and has been the means of calling many sinners to the Lord, and of establishing believers on their most holy faith, and that we therein have evidence that 'God is no respecter of persons,' and as we understand from the Word of God that each church shall act for itself, and may choose its own teachers, we have unanimously resolved to invite, as a second pastor, our beloved brother Arie Van Rooyen, and we desire that he may now be ordained as such, by the assembled pastors, in the name of the church.

(Signed) "C. MAGERMAN, *Elder*.
"KLAAS NAEKA,
"HANS NAEKA,
"CHRISTIAN VAN STAADE,
"H. JONKER,
"BASE BARZE,
"HANS ZEILVOORT, } *Deacons*."

I should not have deemed it necessary to introduce anything further in relation to these arrangements with Mr. Van Rooyen, at Tidmanton, but for the present aspect of affairs among the Kat River people. I am anxious to afford all the illustrations which I can of their mental and moral condition, and for this purpose I place before my readers *an additional document*, to which I attach some value, and I do so in this instance, and in other portions of this volume, that the friends of the native tribes of South Africa may find fresh evidence that the labours of their Missionaries have not been uselessly employed, but that the people have profited, and are com-

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petent to take their share in the movements of a great and well-regulated community.

The following is the copy of the letter which I received from Mr. Van Rooyen, on my communicating to him the wish that he should be ordained as a pastor at Tidmanton. The translation from the original Dutch was made by one of the people on the spot:—

"*Blinkwater, Sept.* 14*th*, 1849.

"REV. AND RESPECTED SIR,—With deep and affectionate feeling have I received your proposal, and sensible of my unworthiness, I can say with David, 'What am I, or what is my father's house,' that I should be called to such an office? Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Paul, all felt their unworthiness to be employed in the service of God, but they nevertheless took duties upon themselves for his name, honour, and usefulness in his cause.

"Although I find myself very unqualified for a work of such greatness and responsibility, and although I possess but little knowledge, little faith, and no eloquence, yet I cannot deny that I have long felt a strong desire to devote myself entirely, with heart and soul, with bodily and mental powers, to the service of God. I derived encouragement from the diversity and manner in which the work is divided, that some place will be found for me: for Paul speaks of 'helps,' in 1 Cor. xii. 28. Perhaps I might be employed as one of them, and although ministers will also shine like stars, they must vary in qualifications. 1 Cor. xv. 41. 'For one star differeth from another star in glory,' and in large houses, there are not golden and silver vessels alone. The proposal made by yourself, Mr. Read, as well as other ministers and the congregations of Philipton and Blinkwater, I accept of with humility and with a sense of my numerous imperfections, leaning on that God who has said to Moses, 'I shall certainly be with you, and will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say.' And who spoke to Jeremiah in his first chapter, verses 6, 8, 9, and 17, 18, 19, and to Paul, saying, 'My grace is sufficient for thee, and my strength shall be made perfect in thy weakness.'

"I am satisfied as to what Mr. Read told me about the money. I pray for a greater measure of piety, holiness, knowledge, humility, self-denial, diligence and perseverance in the ways of God, and that the ordination may not excite pride or haughtiness within me, but tend to the glory of God, the spread of Christ's kingdom, the edification of the church, and the conversion of souls.

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"I shall speak to you personally, when I shall have the pleasure of meeting you here.

"I remain,

"Affectionately and respectfully,

"Yours,

(Signed) "ARIE VAN ROOYEN.

"PS. I think it would be better, if I should be ordained and viewed for the present in the relation of Assistant Missionary, or, as it is called in English, 'Co-pastor;' as it may be advantageous to me in this great and responsible sphere, agreeable to the feelings of the people (congregation), and favourable to the preservation of the unity which exists between the congregations of Philipton and Tidmanton."

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CHAPTER VIII.

STRIKE, BUT HEAR—MEMORIAL TO SIR H. SMITH—HOTTENTOTS AT BUXTON—LETTER FROM COLONIAL SECRETARY—LETTER AS TO BUXTON HOTTENTOTS—EXPULSION OF THE PEOPLE—EXPULSION OF GONA HOTTENTOTS—POLICE REPORT OF EXPULSIONS—THE GOVERNOR'S COMMENDATION—LETTER FROM MR. C. BROWNLEE—LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR—LETTER FROM BOTHA TO THE GOVERNOR—SUFFERINGS OF THE GONA HOTTENTOTS—BOTHA'S LETTER OF EXPOSTULATION—SUMMARY OF THE CASE—CATTLE IMPOUNDED—IRRITATION OF THE PEOPLE—"WE ARE TIRED OF IRRITATIONS"—EXCITEMENT AT KAT RIVER—EXCESSIVE EXACTIONS—CAUSES OF IRRITATION—PEOPLE'S APPEAL FOR INVESTIGATION—LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT—KAT RIVER HOTTENTOTS.

It is with considerable reluctance that I enter on the materials of this chapter. I could wish that the sources of irritation they contain were buried in oblivion. It is an ungracious task to expose the faults of men in office, and especially after *some* reparation has been made for the evils they have done. But when I see the ungenerous and even cruel attempts that are made in some portions of the colony, to crush the Hottentots, and some other coloured races, and to awaken the public sentiment and the hostility of the Government against Missionary Institutions generally, and those among the Hottentots in particular, and I may add, those of our Society above all,—I deem it a sacred duty to state certain facts, which, although they may not and cannot justify the rash steps which some misguided natives have recently adopted, will be deliberately weighed by all cool and impartial minds—will be looked at as extenuating circumstances—will be held to *account* for and excuse much dissatisfaction on the part of the

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natives; and although *not* justifying their disloyalty and rebellion, will largely explain the reasons of those offences, and demand, I presume to think, as searching and impartial an inquiry into the conduct of those, however high in office, who have *caused* this discontent and disloyalty, by unwise or illegal measures, as into the conduct of men who have been goaded into unjustifiable extremes. I see no justice in executing the rebel, without asking what made him a rebel; no honour in stifling by superior force the earnest and even intemperate voice of men, who say they are goaded and wronged, without calmly asking, Is there truth in their allegations? Have they ground for their remonstrance? In the absence of such inquiry, blameworthy parties may be screened, the really ill-advised may be commended, and the innocent may be the victims.

The first case of complaint that came under my notice personally, during my visit at the Kat River, occurred at the village of Buxton. I admit here at once, before I describe it, that having brought it under the notice of his Excellency Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, he ordered an investigation of the matter, with a promptness that reflected honour on his judgment and benevolence, and in consequence of that investigation, the parties wronged received some reparation. I do not, therefore, repeat the case here with a particle of angry or malignant feeling toward Sir Harry Smith, nor would I have alluded to the case again, but for the present outcry against the Hottentots, the severe measures being dealt out to them, and the necessity of stating, in their vindication, or for the extenuation of their offence, all that which truth admits.

The case was urged on my attention by Gona Hottentots themselves, the parties aggrieved. I heard attentively their complaints; I endeavoured to sift the evidence and ascertain the facts, to the best of my ability, and I think I cannot do better than state them in the very terms in which I brought them under the notice of the Governor, as soon as I possibly could after I left the Kat River.

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[Copy.]

"*Somerset, 5th Oct.*, 1849.

"To His Excellency Sir Harry Smith, Bart.,
"Governor, &c. &c. &c.

"The memorial of Rev. J. J. Freeman, one of the Secretaries of the London Missionary Society, and at present Deputation from that Society to its Missions in South Africa, humbly sheweth,

"That, while your Memorialist has anxiously wished not to interfere in matters that might seem out of his province, or not directly connected with the objects of his mission, some cases of such flagrant injustice, cruelty, and oppression have forced themselves on his observation that he can no longer refrain from soliciting your Excellency's attention to them, persuaded that, were they known, they would be checked, and that, if left unchecked, they will so multiply that the whole of the Native Border Tribes will be provoked into a state of dangerous exasperation.* Memorialist invites your Excellency's attention to a case which has just occurred at Buxton, in the Kat River settlement, under the magistracy of Mr. Bowker. It is briefly this:—About one hundred head of cattle, belonging to the people here, trespassed on some corn lands,—the lands being uninclosed. The damage done was assessed at 6*d*. per head of cattle, say £2 10*s*. The people paid the amount in cattle (a cow in calf, and two young oxen fit for inspanning),† and were told they might drive home the cattle. While doing so, the cattle were all seized and impounded, under pretence that they had not paid sufficient fine for damages; and being brought to court, a false charge was made that the people had attempted to prevent the cattle being seized. They were then fined eight head of cattle for the damages, and £50 under this false charge, being £10 for each of five men. Two of the men having no cattle, were imprisoned, and are now working in irons as felons, and thirty head of cattle have been taken and sold to pay the £30 penalty demanded of the other three men.

"Your Memorialist is certain that the charge of rescue or resistance on the part of the people is false, vexatious, and oppressive."

Having made this communication to his Excellency, affecting the proceedings of the magistrate, I thought it

* I wish to invite the attention of my reader to this remark, because it shows what impression was made on my mind at the moment, and on the very spot, and that I felt this danger so vividly, that I did not hesitate to state it to the Governor.

† *i. e.*, yoking in.

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only due to Mr. Bowker, to inform him candidly that I was doing so, by the following note:—

[Copy.]

"*Somerset, Oct.* 10*th*, 1849.

"To J. H. Bowker, Esq.

"Sir,—

"The case of the people at Buxton, whose cattle have been seized and sold, and on whom heavy fines have been imposed, under false charges, appears to me, after investigation, so thoroughly to require revision, that I have felt it my duty to bring it under the notice of his Excellency the Governor, and as I am doing so, it seems but fair also to convey to you this early intimation of it.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"J. J. FREEMAN."

Mr. Bowker politely acknowledged the receipt of my note, and his Excellency officially acknowledged the receipt of my Memorial.

The next step taken in the case was adopted by the complainants themselves, who addressed a letter to Sir John Wylde, of the Supreme Court, requesting him at the ensuing Circuit to look into the case, and revise the decision of the magistrate. The Chief Justice accordingly directed his attention to it, and questioned the magistrate as to these proceedings, and took the case with him for further consideration.

His Excellency then appointed a special commission of inquiry, and the result of the investigation will be found in the following letter, which was addressed to me by desire of the Governor, from the Colonial Secretary, in reply to an inquiry from me, in reference to my memorial, on my return to Cape Town, in May, 1850.

[Copy.]

"*Colonial Office, Cape Town, 1st June*, 1850.

"Sir,—

"I am directed by His Excellency the Governor, now to communicate to you the result of the investigations which have been made into the subject of your Memorial of the 6th of October last, in

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which you complain of an alleged overstretch of power exercised by the resident magistrate of Stockenstrom against some natives of the Kat River settlement.

"I am to acquaint you that, upon a very full and careful investigation on the spot, by Mr. Wienand, clerk of the peace, a very able officer of the Government, and assisted by the advice of the Attorney General, the following circumstances have been elicited:—

"That the cattle of the Gonas (who are the parties on whose behalf you have memorialized His Excellency) had undoubtedly trespassed upon the lands of the Hottentots; that on the trial before Mr. Bowker the very material question as to whether amends (which both parties agreed had been offered) were accepted by the Hottentots or not, was not fully before him, while on the subsequent evidence taken by Mr. Wienand the parties were distinctly at issue on this very point; and it was asserted by the one and denied by the other, that Willem Hans had agreed to and accepted the amends tendered before he called on the separate owners to single out their own cattle. The contradiction necessarily leaves the matter in doubt.*

"Whether a rescue was or was not committed cannot therefore even now, under the subsequent investigation, be resolved; and it is to be remembered that, from the ignorance of the Gonas and the duplicity of the Hottentots, the negotiation which took place as to amends was altogether concealed at the first trial before Mr. Bowker.

"With regard to the legal consequences of the trespass itself, the principle of the law of the colony being, not that corn farmers must inclose their grounds, but that cattle farmers must herd their cattle, —the fact that the lands of the Hottentots were *uninclosed* does not affect the liability of the Gonas for the trespass. Consequently the Hottentots had a legal right to impound the cattle trespassing, which right they were under no obligation to forego. Neither by the settled law of the Supreme Court, does the actual amount of damage done, whether more or less, affect the right to impound as many cattle as were trespassing however the value of such cattle might exceed the amount of damage. Nor would any tender of amends, however ample, by the Gonas to the Hottentots, if not finally accepted by the latter —nor the leaving of any number of cattle to cover the damage, justify the Gonas in driving off the cattle detained, without the consent of

* I think if Mr. Bowker had carefully *sifted* the evidence, and *cross-examined* the witnesses when the case was brought before him, he would have found that the Hottentots *had* accepted the amends tendered. At any rate, the accused should have had the benefit of the "doubt" in the matter.

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the Hottentots. To drive any of such cattle away without consent, even in ignorance of the law, would be in law equally a *rescue*. On the other hand, if amends were once finally accepted by the Hottentots, and the cattle seized once released, no change of mind could justify them in retaking the cattle.*

"His Excellency cannot but however impute to Mr. Bowker an undue severity in the sentence he pronounced on the Gonas, for what if strictly and in law was, by the evidence before him, a *rescue*, was yet committed in ignorance and without violence, and is of opinion that the fines of £10 each on three of the parties, and the imprisonment for two months with hard labour of the other two, were clearly excessive.

"It appears, however, that Mr. Bowker erred in this respect, not from severity of disposition, but from a mistaken apprehension that, under the Pound Ordinance, he had no discretion as to the sentence. This mitigation involves the existence of a carelessness on the part of a magistrate in not ascertaining precisely the bearing of his penal jurisdiction, for which Mr. Bowker cannot be excused by His Excellency.

"His Excellency has been pleased to decide that the fines of £10 each, levied upon Gobi, Baartman, and Spelman, be returned to them; and has caused Mr. Bowker to be instructed to that effect: and as it appears further that the levy of such fines by way of warrant of distress was irregular and illegal, Mr. Bowker has been also desired to pay from his own funds the sum of £1 19*s*. 6*d*., charged as expenses of sale by the messenger of the court.

"As there is no clear proof that the impounding of the cattle was illegal, His Excellency cannot require the refunding of the principal pound-fees: viz., mileage 18*s*.; damage £2 10*s*.; reception-fee £2 9*s*. —in all, £5 17*s*.; but inasmuch as certain legal regulations were not complied with, and the cattle appear not to have been actually herded, but released on security, His Excellency has directed that the magistrate shall call for the restoration of the Field-cornet's fee of 7*s*. 6*d*. and the charge of £1 16*s*. 9*d*. for herding. These several sums of £1 17*s*. 6*d*., 7*s*. 6*d*., and £1 16*s*. 9*d*., amounting to £4 1*s*. 9*d*., will, therefore, be divided amongst the three Gonas who owned the cattle.

"His Excellency regrets that it is not in his power, or within the

---

* With regard to the lands of the Hottentots being *uninclosed*, although in point of law it may not affect the liability of parties for a trespass, yet I have understood it has been the practice of the Colony to take it into consideration, and frequently *to mitigate the damages to the amount of one-half*, where the lands have *not been inclosed*.

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functions of Government, to provide any further recompense or compensation to the parties aggrieved, although the Executive is convinced of the hardship of the case, and regrets the imprisonment to which two of them have been subjected.

"Their remedy, if any, must be sought in law,—for the Government, when it has restored the fines it had received in money, and has also directed its officers to refund what they had received as fees, cannot do more, nor attempt to satisfy the parties in respect of punishment wrongfully undergone by reason of undue severity on the part of a magistrate or judge, or, as has sometimes happened, by the misfinding of a jury.

"I am to acquaint you that His Excellency has caused Mr. Bowker to be distinctly apprized of the serious errors of judgment he has committed, and very seriously cautioned for the future, as well as severely reprimanded in respect of the case now in question.

"His Excellency has also strongly recommended Mr. Bowker to endeavour to render amends to the parties who suffered the imprisonment.*

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"JOHN MONTAGU."

In acknowledging the foregoing letter from the Governor I wrote as under:—

[Copy.]

"*Cape Town*, 8*th June*, 1850.

"To His Excellency Sir H. Smith,
"Governor, &c. &c. &c.

"Sir,—

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of reply (in letter from Mr. Montagu, date 1st June) to my Memorial to your Excellency on the subject of the Government Hottentots of Buxton, Kat River.

"I beg, also, to thank your Excellency for having so promptly instituted a Commission of Inquiry into the case of which I had made complaint.

"I have no wish to press the case any further, as your Excellency has already so justly censured the proceedings of the magistrate. My principal aim was to assist in preventing the recurrence of such harsh treatment of the natives in future. I confess I cannot quite acquit

* With this equitable recommendation of the Governor, the magistrate has never, I am sorry to say, had either the justice or the humanity to comply.

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the magistrate, Mr. Bowker, of severity of disposition towards them. Were this the only case that had occurred of a similar character, I could the more readily have concurred in your Excellency's opinion on this point; but as his treatment of the natives in some other instances appears to me equally harsh (I advert in passing to the case of Klaas Stuurman and Malas Karabana, and also of Andries Pretorius, late of Philipton*), as in the case now disposed of, I feel unable to attribute his decision to mere mistaken views of duty, rather than to the influence of some prejudice.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"J. J. F."

It was shortly after this Buxton affair that another unfortunate case occurred, tending, through the unaccountable mismanagement of the magistrate, and those acting under his instructions, greatly to irritate and mortify the people. I refer to the driving away from the settlement a number of people who had been living there peaceably for twenty years, and also the setting fire to the huts of some Fingoes, who were the resident and recognized servants of people on the settlement. The case is stated in a letter addressed to me by the complaining parties themselves, and I prefer, wherever it can be done, to let them just state their own grievances in their own way.

[Copy.]

"*Tidmanton*, 24*th Sept.*, 1849.

"Rev. and Honoured Sir,—

"Since your departure we have been much disturbed. On Tuesday, Mr. Borcherds, the First Commissioner, came with a troop of Kaffir police, and set fire to the huts of our Fingo herdsmen on the other side of the river, from 212 to 228 paces from our erven (allotments), and banished to Kaffirland other men from Kat River who have already lived here twenty years. We must inform you, Sir, that we heard, about four months ago, that it was the intention of Government to make some Kaffir squatters living on our ground, in Fuller's Hoek, pay one pound sterling a year.† We, therefore, peti-

* For these cases, see forward.

† This would be tantamount to a recognition of the right of such parties, then, to remain there, although Kaffirs, and having no right to occupy the land originally granted to the Hottentots.

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tioned Government to disallow it. Now comes Mr. Borcherds, and instead of driving the *Kaffirs* away, he fires the huts of our Fingo herdsmen, apprehends our men, and banishes two to Kaffirland, and says that it is the intention of Government to have the land of Kat River measured over again, and its limits contracted. These matters grieve us, and we are of the same mind with the Griquas and Moshesh, that we cannot confide in Sir Harry Smith, and that under his goverment there have been held out more provoking measures since the emancipation of the Hottentots, and this, notwithstanding all his protestations that he is our friend. We shall determine not to improve our ground too much, nor to build new houses thereupon until we are sure of our land. We desire your return to speak with you about these matters.

"We remain, Rev. and Honoured Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,

"S. HANSE.

"HANS JAGER."

I now proceed to give some details of the mischievous case of the driving out, with much severity, from the settlement, the Gona Hottentots, and which is so justly animadverted on in the letter of Sir Andries Stockenstrom.* Immediately I received information from Kat River, that such proceedings had taken place, I waited on his Excellency the Governor, and stated the fact. He was utterly astonished, and could scarcely give credit to the statement. He assured me that "he had not given orders for the removal of the Gona Hottentots; that his instructions extended only to the removal of squatting Kaffirs; that the Gonas had been of essential service to the colony, and he would rather have done them a service than have had them ejected." It was evident to me that Sir Harry Smith's orders had been grossly exceeded by the parties to whom their execution was intrusted, and that the Report from the officers to his Excellency had been so framed, as to lead the Governor himself into error, by keeping back the necessary explanations.

The *Government Gazette* of July 4, 1850, contained the official report of the case, which his Excellency directed to

* See Chap. VI. page 142.

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be published for general information, being the correspondence which passed between himself as High Commissioner, and Colonel Mackinnon, Commandant of British Kaffraria. I think it worth while to insert the whole of this correspondence, as the case has evidently so much to do with the existing excitement, and the mournful tragedy of disloyalty.

(I.)

"*King William's Town*,
"*June 24th*, 1850.

"His Excellency the High Commissioner,

"Sir,

"Having received your Excellency's instructions to direct the Kaffir Police to co-operate with the civil authorities in the colony in removing a number of Kaffirs who had without permission squatted on the Blinkwater in the neighbourhood of Hermanus' location, and whose constant depredations had given great cause for complaint to the farmers in that part of the country, I directed Superintendent Davies to place himself in communication with the Civil Commissioner of Fort Beaufort, and to concert measures with him for the performance of this service.

"I now enclose the copy of a Report from Superintendent Davies, by which your Excellency will see that the service has been most effectually performed.

"Your Excellency will, I am sure, not fail to appreciate the efficient manner in which Superintendent Davies and his men performed this laborious duty. Their having executed it without the occasioning the slightest collision with the Kaffir squatters is a proof how well they understood their work.

"I have, &c.,
"GEO. MACKINNON,
"Col., and Chief Commissioner in Kaffraria."

(II.)

"*Police Office, Fort Cox*,
"*June 20th*, 1850.

"Colonel Mackinnon, C.B.,
"Chief Commissioner.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you, that in compliance with a requisition from the Civil Commissioner for the district of Fort Beaufort, to aid him in removing Kaffir squatters from the Blinkwater, I pro-

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ceeded with the party, as shown in the margin, to the Blinkwater post, where I had ordered the Kaffir police to rendezvous, and where I met the Civil Commissioner, on Wednesday afternoon, the 12th instant.

"Early on Thursday morning, I proceeded to Fuller's Hoek, leaving one serjeant and ten men at the post, in readiness to aid in any way I might require. After marching to the head of the kloof, I was desired by the Civil Commissioner to commence operations. At the first kraal I found only one man, but a number of women, who told me they were widows. I desired my men to collect all the cattle and goats from the surrounding hills; this produced a number of Kaffirs. I ordered the women to pack up their things, and take their children and move off to the Blinkwater post, in charge of a few policemen. I continued to operate in like manner at all the kraals in the Hoek. Some of the men being Hermanus' people were allowed to join him. I succeeded in clearing this kloof by dusk, and returned to Blinkwater post.

"Friday 14th. Cleared two Kaffir kraals, one of which belonged to Mali, of Botman's tribe, whom I knew in the war *against us;* I sent the women, children, and cattle to Blinkwater post, and then proceeded to muster and inspect Hermanus' people, reported to be one hundred and thirty in number, but I am of opinion, from my subsequent operations, that they are more than two hundred. This day was very unfavourable, owing to hail, rain, and wind all day. At night again returned to the Blinkwater post.

"Saturday 15th. I dispatched one native serjeant and ten privates to Fort Hare with the Kaffirs, men, women, children, cattle, and goats, taken on the two previous days; after which, I, with the remainder of my party, ascended the hills to the south of Hermanus' place, and cleared them of his men's kraals, which were over the boundary assigned to his people.

"At this place the Civil Commissioner for Beaufort left us on his return home. I continued to destroy Kaffir kraals, and ordered the men, women, and children to Buxton. At dusk we arrived at one of the kloofs in the Kroman range, and bivouacked in and about the Kaffir kraals. Rain and wind the greater part of the day.

"*Sunday*, 16th. I was joined this morning by the resident magistrate from the Kat River Settlement, and at once commenced operations on the hills to the north-west of Hermanus' place, where we found more of his people, burned their huts, and passed them over the boundary. These men were not present at the muster on Friday. The chief Hermanus complained that his land was too small, upon which I replied, 'Now was his time to hand over to me all the men

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he had too many, that I might take them to Kaffirland,' which he evaded by saying, the men were his; I then told him both his own and his men's cattle were liable to be put in the colonial pounds for trespass, if ever they were found again over the boundary of the land allotted to him and his people. I next returned to the Kume kloof, where I found more of Hermanus' people, whose cattle had been driven to his locations on my approach the night before. I destroyed their huts and handed them over to him. I also destroyed a number of kraals belonging to other Kaffirs, taking the people and cattle with me. I ordered the men to bivouac in the neighbourhood of the upper Blinkwater.

"Monday, 17th. I again commenced operations — burning and destroying kraals belonging to the Kaffir squatters around this place, taking the men, women, children, goats, and cattle, with us, which were now very numerous. Late in the afternoon we arrived on the hill above Buxton, and slept in the Kaffir kraals in the vicinity.

"Tuesday, 18th. Commenced again destroying kraals belonging to squatters, both Kaffirs and Fingoes. At this place, although the residence of a field-cornet named Andries Botha (a Ghona Kaffir, I am informed by my men) were a greater number of squatters than at any other place; also more cattle in this neighbourhood, some of which were brand-marked. I continued to remove them for about two miles below Buxton towards Hertzog, where the resident magistrate and police under Lieut. Campbell, separated from me; they taking the road to Hertzog, and I, with the remainder of the police, with all the squatters taken, men, women, and children, with all their cattle, marched to Fort Hare. The party proceeded but slowly, owing to the great number of women and children; night coming on when within about five miles of the Mankazana, I was compelled to sleep at this place. The night was cold and frosty: I was fortunate in getting shelter for the women and children in the huts about the place.

"Wednesday, 19th. The party moved off early this morning with the women and children, the last of which did not arrive at Fort Hare until after dark. The Fingoe squatters—about thirty men, ninety women, and a great number of children, with four hundred head of cattle, and two hundred and fifty goats, were sent to their several locations.

"Thursday, 20th. Early this morning I ordered the foot party to Fort Cox. The Kaffirs, to the number of fifty men, and upwards of one hundred women, with their children, who stated they belonged to Kaffirland, were sent to the locations of their chiefs, with their cattle, &c. About forty Kaffirs, who stated that they had no chief

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but the government, and had been in the colony before the war, I allowed to remain near the Police Station at Fort Hare, with their cattle, until some arrangements can be made by the authorities to locate them.

"The following is as correct a list as could be taken in so short a time:—

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Cattle.	Goats.
Fingoes	30	90	A great number, but could not be enumerated.	400	300
Kaffirs belonging to Kaffirland . . .	50	150		647	290
Kaffirs who state they belong to the colony	40	64		1000	500
Kaffirs removed to Hermanus' location	25	50		300	300
Total,	145	350	not known.	2347	1390

"The above is rather under than over the numbers.

"The Police destroyed, during the operations, upwards of three hundred huts between Fuller's Hoek and Buxton, the whole of which was conducted without the slightest resistance on the part of either Kaffir or Fingoe squatters. I have also to inform you that the chief Hermanus was very obedient, and did all I desired him to do. I returned with my mounted men to Fort Cox about four o'clock this afternoon.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "DAVID DAVIES,
"Capt. and Supt. Com. 1st. Div. Kaffir Police."

(III.)

"*Government House*,
1*st July*, 1850.

"Colonel Mackinnon, C.B.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 165, of the 24th ultimo, transmitting me the Report of Mr. Superintendent Davies, of the 1st Division Kaffir Police, who had been directed by you to remove certain parties of Kaffirs who had squatted within the colony. The able and temperate manner in which this officer has performed this very difficult duty deserves great encomium; and I request you would convey the same to him.

"It is obvious how perfectly efficient the Kaffir Police is, and how well it executes every duty it is called upon to perform. I attach much importance to such service; and I shall direct the publication of this report in order to show generally the utility of the Kaffir

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Police. I request you also to inform the Kaffir chief Hermanus that I am satisfied with the assistance he rendered Mr. Davies, and that as his land is now cleared of these squatters I expect he will keep it so. Mr. Davies' considerate care of the women and children is very meritorious.

"I have, &c.,
(Signed) "H. G. SMITH."

As so much perplexity seemed to pervade this subject, I deemed it right to apply to the Government for copy of the instructions to the local magistrates for the removal of the Kaffirs, and I was obligingly furnished with them. The two following documents will explain themselves. It has been already seen that the people of Blinkwater had applied to the Governor for the removal of certain squatting Kaffirs. His Excellency then desired an investigation to be made, and the first of the two following letters contains the Report of Mr. C. Brownlee, Gaika Commissioner, to Colonel Mackinnon, as to the matter, and the second the instructions of the Governor. In carrying out these instructions it is evident that sufficient care was not taken to follow either their letter or their spirit.

[Copy.]

"*Fort Cox*,
"*6th May*, 1850.

"Colonel Mackinnon, C.B.,
"Chief Commissioner.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to report for your information that, according to your direction, I proceeded last week to the Blinkwater, to make some inquiry respecting the Kaffirs at present there.

"There are about 300 (three hundred) Kaffirs in the Blinkwater, exclusive of women and children.

"These people may be divided into three classes, namely:—

"1st. Those who came into the colony previous to the war of 1835, and who did burgher duty in the colony during that war.

"2nd. Those who came into the colony before the war of 1846, and who served in the colony during this war.

"3rd. Those who came into the colony after the late war, of which there are nearly one hundred men in the Blinkwater.

"The first two classes having served against their countrymen, the

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ame as any other colonists, I consider them to be entitled to be treated n the same way as the Fingoes are, and I think they should be located ither in the Blinkwater, or in any other locality which may be considered more eligible.

"Among these people there are some who are members of Mr. Read's congregation, and who have made some advancement in civilization. It s supposed that they would advance still farther, if their residence in the Blinkwater was placed upon some defined and understood footing.

"The third class should at once be removed, at least as soon as they gather their crops, which are at present in a state of forwardness.

"Those persons of the first and second classes who practise heathenish customs, and who do not bear good characters, should likewise be removed.

"Lists might be furnished by the field cornets, showing the periods of residence in the colony, the service and characters of such persons as are at present in the Blinkwater. With such a list for a guide, it would be easy to determine who were to be sent to Kaffirland, and who should be otherwise treated.

"Without remarking upon the bad effects which would result from summarily sending into Kaffirland men who have been with us during war, I may merely say that these men are entitled to different treatment, and their services, from whatever motive performed, cannot be overlooked.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) CHARLES BROWNLEE,

"Gaika Commissioner."

A true copy,

(Signed) J. AYLIFF.

[Copy.]

"*Colonial Office, Cape Town,*

"*16th May*, 1850.

"The Civil Commissioner,

"Fort Beaufort.

"SIR,

"In forwarding to you the accompanying copy of a letter addressed by the Gaika Commissioner to Colonel Mackinnon, respecting the Kaffirs at the Blinkwater, I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to instruct you how to proceed with each of those three classes referred to by Mr. Brownlee.

"The Governor desires that such Kaffirs as fall within the first and second classes are to be located on the Blinkwater, at such places as you select, to be treated similarly to the Fingoes located in your division, and to pay the said amount of rent. They will be allowed to continue on these terms so long as they are properly conducted, and punctual in the payment of the rent.

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"Those who come within the third class are to be removed immediately after they gather their present crops, and to be allowed to return to their own people, but by no means to re-enter the Blinkwater.

"If any difficulties are thrown in your way, when attempting to remove them, you are requested to apply to Colonel Mackinnon for such aid as you may require, and it will be forwarded to you.

"Please to report the result of your proceedings.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU."

It will be observed, that in all this correspondence *Kaffir and Fingoe squatters* * alone are spoken of, whereas among those expelled were the Gonas, who though sometimes called *Gona Kaffirs*, are more properly *Gona Hottentots*, and have been always recognized as such; they were legitimately settled at Kat River, from its commencement by Sir Lowry Cole, and the Commissioner, now Sir Andries Stockenstrom, and are the parties referred to by Sir Harry Smith, when he assured me *he would have preferred to render them a service.* These are among the parties driven away and burnt out.

Immediately after these expulsions had taken place, the Field Cornet, Andries Botha, wrote a letter on the subject to the Governor, which sets the matter in a clear light, and does the writer (a native) great credit. It is as follows:—

[Copy.]

"*Buxton, June 23rd*, 1850.

"Sir,

"Hoping that your Excellency will not take amiss my addressing this letter immediately to you, in behalf of myself and part of the people belonging to my field-cornetcy.

"Your Excellency knows me; I am an old servant of Government, and I hope a faithful one; I served under Government in the war of 1835; your Excellency knows I never flinched from duty; I never

* By "squatters" are usually understood persons who settle down on Government or private land without permission. They are usually men of suspicious character, having no visible means of support, in distinction from the Gonas now driven out, who *had* means of support, for they possessed cattle, and cultivated land to a large extent; and were all well known on the settlement, and much respected.

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feared to face the enemy—and that with the very men who have now been so shamefully expelled from the settlement. I do not think it was by your Excellency's order, for your heart is too generous and too good to be unkind. As I have fought with you in the war of 1835, so I fought again with the same men in the last war. Colonel Hare borrowed me from Sir A. Strockenstrom, and sent me into the Amatola, where we had to fight against a large body of Kaffirs from morning until night; but we drove out the Kaffirs from the bush into the plains of the Pits in one day. I have always endeavoured to make myself worthy the confidence placed in me, and always until now, had the approbation of my superiors. Now I must tell your Excellency of the trouble that has come over me, but your Excellency must permit me to tell my whole story. Your Excellency well knows that when this settlement was commenced in 1829, many of my friends, for the most part of my family are Gonas, were in Kaffirland, and wishing to come to the colony, to dwell among their friends, they applied to Sir A. Stockenstrom, who received them into the settlement: so they came; some were at Balfour, some at Philipton, and some with me at Buxton. Most of those at Balfour got erfs immediately from Sir A. Stockenstrom and Mr. Hertzog. Those located at Philipton subsequently received erfs at Lower Blinkwater; some few are still at Philipton, where Colonel Hare promised they should have erfs; of those who came here only a few got erfs measured out to them; many who were boys are now men; they have always been expecting to get erfs, according to promise, but it was not done, and as they were among their friends, and no complaints, we did not urge their leaving; thus they have remained among their friends until now. They were ready for any duty, paid regularly the taxes as long as we paid, went on patrols against the Kaffirs, and fought two wars.

"In 1837 some few more came out of Kaffirland to their friends; they also fought with us in the war. Some time ago a petty chief, named Dando, came from Kaffirland with a pass from Mr. Brownlee; he requested permission to graze his cattle for a time, which was allowed; but other Kaffirs soon came, and our people applied to our magistrate to have them removed, which he promised to do; and he more than once asked me if their corn was ripe; and said to me, that when it was he would come, saying at the same time he had nothing to do with the Gonas and others, who had been long with us or taken part in the wars, and conducted themselves well; thus we were at rest.

"On Saturday week I heard that Mr. Bowker was at Wilberforce with a strong party of Kaffir police, and was burning all before him,

not only the houses of Dando and his followers, but all who had been so long with us, and living amongst us, by permission of erf-holders. According to Article 5th of the printed regulations for the division of the settlement of Kat River, it is provided that the right of grazing may be let out by any person who does not require it for his own use; either part of it or the whole, for any period of time not exceeding one year, &c.; and Mr. Bowker has allowed several people in the settlement to let out their grazing grass to Fingoes. Being field-cornet of the place, and Mr. Bowker not having told me what he was going to do, I went to him and tried to explain the case of the various people to him, but he drove me away. Mr. Bowker was busy burning the whole of the Sunday, and only gave the people time to take out their things; while a policeman was standing ready with a fire-brand in his hand, to set fire to the house; poor women and children were thus turned out into the open air: Friday, Saturday, Sunday, being the severest we have had this season. The burning of Wilberforce being ended by Monday night, the party came to Buxton on Thursday morning, when burning commenced immediately, and no entreaties of erf-holders, tears of mothers and children, availed; one after another, old and young, were turned out and the house burnt; some women with infants, but lately out of childbed, and all driven away before the Kaffir police. Among those driven away there were upwards of thirty families who have been with us twenty years; have conducted themselves well, and nothing was laid to their charge. If previous warning had been given, they might quietly have withdrawn from the settlement; but not a moment's warning was given; the way in which these people have been burnt out has created some sensation in the settlement, as even their servants have been driven away. I beg leave to inclose a list of the names of the Gonas and Fingoes above alluded to, as also a list of the names of the erf-holders who made a declaration that they did not ask for the removal of those people. It was not my intention to have troubled your Excellency, painful as the case is; but as Mr. Bowker has dismissed me without giving any reason, I have thought it my duty to give your Excellency a plain statement of facts, and beg humbly and respectfully to repeat my requests made to the honourable Secretary to Government, that I may have an impartial investigation of my case. I am not a perfect man; I have my faults, and liable to err like any other man, but I have always tried to serve Government faithfully both in war and in peace.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "ANDRIES BOTHA, Sen.,

"Field-Cornet."

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The following just observations were conveyed to me by a party on the spot, as containing a summary of this case.

1. It was quite right that the Government should expel the *Kaffirs* from the Chumie. They were a set of Kaffir adventurers, who had settled down about three miles from Wilberforce, and six miles north-east of Hermanus' people. Nothing is said against the fact of their expulsion, only that it was inhuman to burn them out amidst such piercing cold weather, and without any shelter being provided for them, and all this too on the Sunday.

It is distinctly admitted that the people of Wilberforce and Buxton had themselves requested the Government to remove those squatters. But then—

2. The *Gonas* had been on the settlement from its commencement—they were of Hottentot descent: the Hottentot erf-holders of allotments had, according to the legal regulations of the settlement, permitted them to reside among them, and *they had rendered most signal service to the Government.* These ought not to have been expelled; or, if for any grave purposes they were to be removed at all, it should have been in a far different manner, and with great consideration, and with previous provision for their future residence.

3. Due *notice* ought to have been given of the intended measures of the government, and it was not given.

4. It was most arbitrary and cruel to force into Kaffirland, or the immediate neighbourhood of the Kaffirs, these Gonas, Fingoes, and Kaffirs, *who had served the Government during the late war*, and thereby incurred the hatred of the Kaffirs, and who would now have opportunities of taking in some way their revenge.

5. It was cruel policy to send a rough lot of "*Kaffir* police" to burn out the Gonas and others on the lands of the Hottentots, on this ground, that only four years previously, Andries Botha, *with these very Gonas*, under Sir Andries Stockenstrom, had cleared the Kaffirs out of

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the Amatola mountains. No wonder these Kaffirs, now in the service of the Government, taunted the Gonas,—"As you burnt out the Amatolæ, we come now to burn you out in turn." But Government ought to have protected its old and faithful servants.

6. It *looks* like revenge on the part of the magistrate, Mr. Bowker; for these Gonas, now expelled, were those who had been so severely fined, and whose fines were ordered by the Governor to be repaid, and which he *had not yet* repaid.

Nothing could be more galling or provoking to the people than such proceedings, conducted, too, in such a manner, at such a season, and by such parties, and all after great and noble services for the Government!

Another serious cause of irritation among the people arose out of the excessive charges they were subjected to in *impounding of their cattle*, under circumstances of an aggravating character. The case is suitably described in a letter which I received from a friend shortly before I sailed from the Cape, on my return home:—

"You will be sorry to hear that the people of Lower Blinkwater are in great trouble through the conduct of Mr. Cobb, the superintendent of Fingoes and Hermanus' people, who lives about a mile above Tidmanton. I shall first of all give you a copy of Mr. Van Rooyen and the people's letter to Mr. Bowker, and the list of the moneys paid to Mr. Cobb:—

[Translation.]

"'*Tidmanton, 24th June*, 1850.

"'HONOURED SIR,—

"'I send you, with this, a letter from the people of Blinkwater, complaining about Mr. Supt. Cobb, who is unceasingly sending their cattle to the pound. I think it is very hard that the people should be ruined by Government servants, as your worship may see by the accompanying list that Mr. Cobb has already got above £9 sterling in money and four young oxen and three goats, and only because, he says, that the cattle trespass on the grazing line of the post.

"'We begin to think that he asked your worship to measure to him

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ground in our commonage that he may use it as a pitfall to get our cattle and money.

"'If things go on so, the inhabitants find it impossible to remain here any longer. This is nothing but violent oppression. We trust that your worship will send copies of all our letters to his Excellency. We have thought it right to send copies to the agent of the London Missionary Society, in order to speak to his Excellency when he receives letters from your worship. We are desirous of looking on the laws and the executors of the laws as means by which order and our liberties are to be maintained and preserved, and not as instruments of oppression. I, as well as the field-coronet and others of the people, have already spoken to you about these things.

"'I remain, Sir,

"'Your obedient servant,

"'A. VAN ROOYEN.

"'To J. R. Bowker, Esq.,

"'Resident Magistrate.'

"'*Tidmanton, June 24th*, 1850.

"'SIR,—

"'It is with much regret that we have again to complain to you as some of us did to you the day we were at Mr. Blakenay's place, about the conduct of the superintendent, Mr. Cobb, towards us. Since that gentleman came here he has kept up a continual friction and unpleasantness with us. We think the object of the Government in appointing functionaries is not to ill-use her Majesty's subjects or to irritate the feelings of the people, but to do what is just and right so as that they shall be a protection to those that do well and a terror to those that do evil.

"'What we complain of is, that Mr. Cobb is constantly sending our cattle to the pound, and exacting exorbitant demands from us for the release of our cattle, as you will see from the accompanying list, which can be vouched for by receipts of the pound-master at Fort Beaufort, and competent witnesses on the spot. It will be necessary, in order to explain the case, to remind you that the post is about a mile from the station of Tidmanton, and situate in our commonage. That, when Sir George Napier was on the frontier, he induced several posts to be established in the Kat River, and post land was set apart by Engineer Capt. Napier, on the other side of the Blinkwater rivulet. Notwithstanding this, the present post having been already established, it never was removed. The officers who commanded never interfered with the inhabitants, but lived in the greatest goodwill with the people whose erfs are near the post and at greater distances. The troop

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horses often came to the people's locations, but we said nothing, as we looked on the troops as protectors of the country.

"'This was the case at all the military posts—Ecland's post, Fort Armstrong, and the Chumie post, on both sides the Chumie mountain. Since Mr. Cobb came here he has impounded our cattle which have come within what he calls the lands of the post, and thereby made us pay the moneys and cattle specified in the list. From the position of the post, it has become quite a pitfall to us, and we shall soon become quite impoverished if things go on so. You must please to remark, Sir, that the cattle impounded, and for which we have had to pay, were not for trespassing on gardens or fields, but for grazing on what Mr. Cobb calls the lands of the post. Sir, after eighteen years, it is quite time that our lands should be rightly defined and security be given that we can sit under our vine and fig-tree, none making us afraid. We are tired of irritations; we sigh for peace and good understanding with our legal protectors; we wish to cherish confidence in the servants of Government. Mr. Cobb is also constantly holding out irritating language against us. The other day, while the Kaffirs were being expelled from Fuller's Hoek, he said to Isaac Moscus and others, that as soon as it was done with the Kaffirs they would begin with the Hottentots. We think it our duty to state these things to Government.

"'We are sure his Excellency must feel annoyed at constant complaints coming to him, but he must see that there is something wrong.

"'We shall thank you, Sir, to pray his Excellency also to let us have our diagrams for our erfs and grazing lands. We cannot improve our lands while there is so much uncertainty about them. With a full confidence that his Excellency will paternally interfere in these matters, after your representation of our case,

"'We remain,

"'Your obedient servants,

"'Subscribed by the Erf-holders of Tidmanton.

"'To T. H. Bowker, Esq.,

"'Resident Magistrate, Hertzog.

"'List of Monies and Cattle paid by the People of Tidmanton for the Trespass Cattle on what Mr. C. calls Commonage Lands.

	£	s.	d.
"'Klaas Nacka paid the pound-master for twenty-two head of cattle	1	11	0
For horse	0	11	1
[illegible] Spoyte	0	7	2
[illegible]	4	3	4
[illegible], for goats	1	3	4½

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	£	s.	d.
Peit Hollunde, for his bull being found on the post.	0	3	6
Kans Bactneus, for goats	1	3	4½
Valentine Jacobs.	0	5	0
Rupido Klaas	0	17	0
Field-cornet's servant, one ox	1	10	0
Kemaduck Nacka, young ox	1	0	0
Jasejoh Janges, young ox	1	0	0
Kaent Klaas, ox	2	5	0
Boy Malapa, three goats	0	15	9
	15	1	5½'"

The letter to me which enclosed the above, continues as follows:—

"You will see, my dear Sir, from Field-cornet Botha's letter to the Governor, which my father has inclosed to you, the manner which characterized the expulsion of the Gonas and Fingoes from Upper Blinkwater and Buxton. The excitement in the settlement about the proceedings of Mr. Bowker is very strong. While the Kaffir police were burning the kraals of Botha's Fingoes at Buxton, one of the police is said to have remarked, 'As Botha came to the Amatola so have we come to him to-day.' Botha, you must know, was one of the commanders at the Amatola under Stockenstrom. Is it prudent to awaken such feelings between Hottentots and Kaffirs? From the state of feeling, I think there would be a collision if the Governor were again to send Kaffir police to burn Fingoe huts on the erfs or grazing lands of Hottentots. The feelings of the Hottentots are getting so strong against Government, I do not think they would get the Hottentots to turn out if the Kaffirs were to enter the colony. Sir Harry will have to change Mr. Bowker and Mr. Cobb, or he will alienate the feelings of the people from the Government altogether. Bowker has unjustly and summarily dismissed Andries Botha from his situation, as you will see from the letter signed by the people, and which, after perusal, you will also please to cause to be sent to the Governor. The people have prayed for a commission of inquiry on the affairs of the Kat River.

"The case of the Blinkwater people and Cobb is a grievous one. It is, of course, the right of Government to establish posts wherever they please. But the rule which has been observed at Kat River is that posts never interfered with the grazing lands, as the troop horses always grazed on the general commonage. This was also the case

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while the troops were at Blinkwater. Since the war there have been no troops at any of the posts of Kat River and Blinkwater. Mr. Cobb is, however, occupying the premises at the lower Blinkwater posts, and instead of living in peace with the people he is harassing them perpetually, as you will see from the letters to Mr. Bowker. It is impossible for the people to live at Tidmanton if Mr. Cobb is allowed to go on in this way."

Again, in my letter to his Excellency the Governor, dated 8th June, 1850, I incidentally referred to the cases of Stuurman and Karabana. It is in brief as follows, as stated in a letter to Jno. Montagu, Esq., Secretary to Government, and dated Stockenstrom,* 18th July, 1850, signed by a respectable number of the inhabitants:—

"The cattle of these men were, in the first instance, seized on suspicion, according to Kaffir law, though they are colonists; but no case being proved against them, they were sent to prison for a month, on *a charge* of holding out threatening language to Mr. Trollip, without having any fair opportunity allowed them of disproving it, and then £1 13*s*. was exacted from each, as expenses in a case of criminal prosecution! When the Governor's decision arrived, in the matter of the Buxton Gonas (the three penalties of £10 each), which required the fines to be refunded, the magistrate very quietly returned the above £1 13*s*. to each of the two sufferers, but without making any amends for their incarceration, their loss of time, and injury to health."

Was it possible that such proceedings should not excessively irritate the people? The same letter to Mr. Montagu contains sundry other cases. I select a few.

There were two men, Kleinboy and Bruin, who had kindly volunteered to assist a party in tracing some oxen. After being two days at home, the same magistrate (Mr. Bowker) desired the field-cornet, A. Botha, to send them to Hertzog, the place of his residence, on a charge of having attempted to lead off the above party in pursuit of the oxen from the right foot-marks; without being examined they were sent off to Beaufort Prison, and detained [illegible] three weeks, and then allowed to give bail till the

* Another name for *Kat River*.

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Circuit Court came round, and then they were never tried at all! Of course there was no evidence against them.

A few months previously, eight men had been apprehended; three by the field-cornet, and five by the Kaffir police; their place was surrounded by that police, who ransacked their boxes and bags, and took away portions of their property, which was never returned to them; three were imprisoned fourteen days, and five of them eight days, and then they were all released, on one of the prisoners becoming bail for his brother!

Eighteen men were apprehended and imprisoned on the 9th July, 1850, on the representation of Davies and O'Connor, without any investigation in the presence of the accused. Some were lodged in the gaol of Hertzog, and all forced to find bail, even in the absence of accusers and witnesses, and without having committed a wrong.

The people ask in their letter, "If this is law, who is safe, and where will it end? The feelings of the whole district have been outraged by this last act, and it is a wonder that some violence was not committed under the excitement of the moment."

The writers of the letter go on to state—

"We further complain also of the severity of Mr. Bowker's decisions, as manifest in the case of the Buxton Gonas (which incurred his Excellency's displeasure) and as in the case of two lads, Caspar and Sias Suyman, who raced and wounded a buck on a Sunday, but which was eventually killed by two other men; the Suymans, the two lads, were fined *seven pounds ten shillings each;* fifteen pounds, besides law expenses! the other two escaped punishment altogether, though quite as guilty as the Suymans, or more so. While Mr. Bowker has stretched the law to its utmost rigour in this case, yet he himself can spend the Sabbath in burning huts, which could have been done on any other day. What an example to set to the people over whom he presides as magistrate—not to mention the inclemency of the weather to which these people were exposed, and the agitation kept up on the Lord's-day.

"From these and similar cases, a deep feeling and want of confidence have been engendered in the minds of the people, that they cannot get even justice at the hands of Mr. Bowker."

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The letter concludes with the following paragraph:—

"We, her Majesty's loyal subjects, for the sake of ourselves and families, the happiness and prosperity of the settlement, respect for its laws and good order, do humbly pray his Excellency the Governor, as the representative of her Majesty our gracious Queen, that he be pleased to appoint the Rev. H. Calderwood magistrate and civil commissioner of Victoria, with or without any other gentleman which his Excellency may appoint, to make a true investigation into our allegations of the state of the Kat River, herein referred to. We take the liberty of naming Mr. C., as he has lived on the settlement, and is acquainted with some of us; and we have confidence in his impartiality and judgment.

"We further pray, that the case between the Superintendent Cobb and the Blinkwater, alias Tidmanton people, the former sending the cattle of the latter from the commonage to the pound at Fort Beaufort, or making them pay in money, or cattle, for their release at the post, may also be included in the commission."

The above letter from the people was accompanied by another from our Missionaries, Messrs. Read, in which, after stating that they acquiesce in the views expressed by the people, justly remark—

"We respectfully submit, that it is desirable that among her Majesty's subjects, and especially a people in such a state of civilization as the people of this settlement are, the laws be mildly and justly administered, so as to inspire confidence in the servants of Government and the objects of law.

"It is indeed a pity that constant excitement should be kept up among the people, by such things as hiring out of the lands to Fingoes (case of Van Rooyen brought under his Excellency's notice some months ago), the impounding of the people's cattle at Tidmanton, by Superintendent Cobb, from the grazing ground, burning houses the property of her Majesty's peaceable subjects, as well as the houses of the servants of the erf-holders, these being themselves subjects, and the administering the laws with excessive severity. As most of the people have long been known, and in time of war served under his Excellency, they believe that his Excellency cannot be acquainted with the grievances and sufferings, or he would give them instant redress. And we are happy that, from circumstances that recently come under our observation, we can encourage them to that justice will be done them.

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"We also perfectly concur in the choice the people have made of the Rev. H. Calderwood, Civil Commissioner of Alice, with any other gentleman his Excellency may think proper to appoint."

In reply to these various communications, partly from myself to the Governor, as also from the people and Messrs. Read, the following letter was addressed to the Rev. W. Thompson, Cape Town, from the Colonial Secretary, John Montagu, Esq., and dated

"*Colonial Office*, 11*th Sept.* 1850.

"SIR,

"The Rev. Mr. Freeman, of the London Missionary Society, before his departure from this colony addressed to his Excellency, the Governor, two letters dated the 6th and 8th July last, calling his Excellency's attention to several matters connected with the Stockenstrom or Kat River settlement, together with the proceedings of Mr. Bowker, resident magistrate of that district, viz., the manner of removing the unauthorized squatters from the Kat River, the fines inflicted by the magistrate in several cases brought before him, the proposed dismissal of Field-Cornet, &c. &c.

"I am directed to acquaint you, as Mr. Freeman's successor, that the Governor appointed the Rev. H. Calderwood, and Charles Brownlee, Esq., to examine into and report on all the above, as well as other complaints arising out of the Kat River.

"And from the full investigation made on the spot, it appeared that Mr. Bowker, although not chargeable with any intentional misconduct, had in a variety of cases displayed a want of judgment, and of official knowledge, which had betrayed him into grave errors.

"It is unnecessary to go further into details, as Mr. Bowker has tendered his resignation, which the Governor has accepted, and an officer of tried ability has been appointed in his stead.

"With regard to Field-Cornet Botha, it appears that, although personally exculpated from the serious charge of hiring out the common lands, his son, in connection with a person of bad character, was proved to have done this. The replies of himself, whilst under examination, evinced so much absence of openness and candour, that the Commissioners expressed their marked disapprobation of his conduct. Although so far unsatisfactory, the Governor has been pleased to retain him in office, taking care, however, to warn him in future to pay the strictest attention to the duties thereof, and the instructions of the superior officers.

"With regard to the other causes of complaint, his Excellency

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continues to take such steps as appear the best for removing any grounds for futher dissatisfaction, and for redressing past grievances.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN MONTAGU."

The following sketch, from the pen of an intelligent correspondent in the colony, and lately come to hand, presents so clear, forcible, and yet condensed a view of the case of the Hottentots of the Kat Kiver, that even at the risk of repeating some of the facts already stated, I insert it here, anxious as I feel to secure all the attention to this grave subject which the humane and thoughtful reader will not, I am persuaded, withhold:—

"The early years of the settlement were those of privation and hardship; but the prospect of gaining an honourable livelihood for themselves and families fostered hope and nerved to exertion until the object was attained. Then came the hour of trial—the desolating war of 1835 broke with all its force on the new settlement, and the Hottentots of the Kat River, called to the defence of the colony, by their loyalty and gallant bearing earned for themselves the high commendation of Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith; but it was at the expense of all improvement, material, intellectual, social, and moral. War was to them the greatest of calamities—it had been entered upon from necessity, and had thrown them back many years in their onward career. Minds less elastic, and industry less persevering, would have given way before the discouragement it occasioned. Scarcely had the poor people recovered from its effects, when the Kaffir war of 1846 called them once again from their peaceful homes to the warlike operations of the field. It was with no small degree of reluctance that the Hottentots of Kat River permitted themselves to be enrolled as a burgher force to fight over again the battle of the colony with an exasperated and powerful foe. Under the able generalship of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, they again entered Kaffirland, where, by their indomitable courage, they fully sustained their former reputation, and won the confidence and applause of all parties, civil and military.

"As the able-bodied men of the settlement were incorporated for military purposes with the army, the colonial Government promised rations to the families they had left behind, than which nothing could have been more just; but it would seem as if afterwards it was found

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convenient for them to forget their obligations, and to ignore their own promises; and in addition to this grievous wrong from violated faith, the Hottentots of Kat River found themselves, at the close of the war, once more reduced to poverty; their homesteads in ruin; their lands, after thirteen months' absence of those who would have cultivated them, fast returning to the waste from which they had been originally recovered; their cattle gone; their families—here we stop, it is not difficult to imagine how and to what extent they would suffer from the absence of husbands, fathers, and elder brothers,—in short ruin in all its forms was an ever-present spectacle. Even this state of things, with its accumulated evils, might have been remedied had a fair opportunity been afforded to the settlers.

"Soon after the return of these brave men to their desolated valley, ninety saw-pits were at work, and the persevering industry of the Hottentots promised in due time to restore all, but the slain, of what they had lost. Surely this commendable activity was deserving of encouragement from a paternal government. How was it met? You know the sequel—a tax of six shillings a load was then laid on the wood brought out of what the Hottentots had been hitherto accustomed to consider their own forests, and this impost crushed the rising energy of the settlement. Nor was this all: a Civil Commission was appointed to superintend and report on the Kat River, the result of whose labours is embodied in a Report, bearing date 6th October, 1847, and signed 'T. J. Biddulph.' This was beyond human endurance; its shameless disregard to truth, its covert insinuations, its evident marks of having been concocted by the parties by whom the appointment had been made, to serve a political purpose, roused the indignation of the most respectable portion of the public press, and called forth a most satisfactory reply from the much injured inhabitants of the settlement. The Report was shown to be utterly unworthy of public confidence, although published under the name of T. J. Biddulph, and by the command of a High Commissioner, Sir Henry Pottinger; it was adding insult to injury, and left a deep impression on the minds of the people.

"While smarting under the sense of unmerited ill-usage the present Kaffir war broke out, and the Hottentots of the Kat River, like the colonists generally, whether Dutch or English, declined to come to the aid of Government, on the ground that their presence was required to defend their own property, their homes, and all that they held dear to themselves upon earth.

"This was a false step, proceeding more from ignorance than disaffection, and yet not entirely free from the latter, arising from the remembrance of their treatment during the past war. If the conduct

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of the farmers, ay, and of townspeople too, who acted on the same narrow-minded selfish policy, admits of extenuation, so does that of the burghers of Kat River. The fact is, a spirit of infatuation came over all classes of the community, and over none more so than over that portion of it which has been loudest in its abuse of Kat River. Those devoted men, the Rev. Messrs. W. R. Thomson, James Read, sen., and James Read, jun., used all their influence to bring the misguided people under their care to a proper sense of their duty during the present crisis, and to a certain extent they were successful. The colony owes them much for their self-denying patriotic exertions."

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A KAFFIR CHIEF AND HIS WIFE.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE KAFFIR HISTORY.

THE KAFFIR RACE — THE NEW POLICY INTRODUCED BY EARL GREY RESPECTING BRITISH INTERCOURSE WITH THE KAFFIR RACE—THE AMAKOSÆ, OR KAFFIRS ADJACENT TO THE CAPE COLONY—THEIR WARS WITH THE CAPE COLONY—THE KAFFIR CHIEF MACOMO'S DAUGHTER—INFLUENCE OF BRITISH POLICY IN KAFFIRLAND UPON THE INTERIOR OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The present Kaffir war gives fresh importance to Cape Kaffir history, and a due estimate of that history is indispensable to forming a correct judgment on the character of the war, as well as on the policy fit to be adopted by England towards the great African family, of which the Kaffirs, long connected with the Cape, are but a small fraction.

Deeply interesting as the condition of the Hottentots, both within and beyond the Cape colony, will ever be to a right feeling mind, their limited numbers greatly lessen their importance when compared with the Kaffir race. Including the Griquas, the Corannas, the Namaquas, the Bushmen, and the remoter families speaking the Hottentot language, met with of late years, far north of Lattakoo, their whole population does not exceed 150,000 souls. On the contrary, the Kaffir family, already well known to us, cannot be fewer than two millions in number. Spread from the eastern frontier of the Cape colony to beyond Delagoa Bay, and then across the whole continent, without

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break, to the Atlantic, in latitude 20°, and the country of the Damaras, who alone are 40,000 in number, towards Walvisch Bay, this family of Africans are in frequent intercourse with our people of various classes. Thirty-six years ago the Rev. John Campbell first ascertained their importance in point of numbers, and their kindly dispositions. Dr. Philip afterward established decisively the extent of their language. Mr. Moffatt, and recently Dr. Livingston, have opened their remoter tribes to a connection with the Bechuana Country, under circumstances of the extremest interest, both in a political and religious point of view. A German Missionary Society has for six years pursued its labours from a point of the Atlantic towards the interesting discovery by Dr. Livingston, of a fresh water lake, in lat. 20° S., long. 24° E., so as to lay the safest foundation for efforts that cannot fail of having the best effects. In his work, published in 1828, Dr. Philip had already recorded the connection to be opened from that point, Walvisch Bay, and Delagoa Bay, by means of the common language of the tribes.* According to the testimony of the German Missionaries, populous Kaffir tribes, considerably advanced in industrious habits, occupy the west country, after passing 100 miles from the Atlantic towards the New Lake; and according to the observations of Dr. Livingston and his party, "a very numerous" population occupies the country 300 miles east of the Lake. Generally they received the travellers well.

Besides these newly-discovered Kaffir tribes, the Amakosæ, the people adjacent to the Cape colony, and the Tambookies, both extensively engaged in the present war, are more than 250,000 souls; the Amapondas, and other tribes to Natal, 150,000; the Zoolas, and others in Natal, 100,000; the independent Zoolas, at least 500,000; the Bechuanas, Mantatees, Basutoos, and other tribes between Lattakoo and Natal, 300,000; the Matabele, and other tribes from the Zoolas to the Lake tribes, 500,000; which

* Researches, vol. ii. p. 144.

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conjectural calculations leave 200,000 for those and other tribes, east and west, to make up 2,000,000 of the Kaffir race, *now well known to us*.

But this comparatively dense population of so many Kaffir tribes is far less important than their intimate relations with our people.

In several points, Missionaries have led the way to these relations. Everywhere, except in one very remarkable case, to be stated presently, they have hitherto made the most favourable impressions on these tribes. Everywhere they are now earnestly asked for by them. Traders too, and sportsmen, and men of science, have penetrated far among these tribes. Heretofore the agent of Government has come last. An extraordinary movement of discontented Cape colonists has, however, led to new views in this respect, and that movement has covered the face of South Africa, from the Vaal River to the New Lake, with those colonists—the emigrant Boers. Now the relations of those various classes of our people with the various Kaffir tribes, constitute a vast means of extending civilization throughout Southern Africa; and they have recently assumed a character altogether unprecedented since the independence of the American colonies. The subject deserves the most careful examination, seeing that in the last Cape papers laid before both Houses of Parliament, there are documents which open it in all its magnitude. The Privy Council advised her Majesty, only a few months ago, to extend the legal jurisdiction of the Cape colony *to the equator*—twenty-five degrees of latitude beyond its present limits, through a prodigious region belonging to Portugal. This is not all. Earl Grey has himself originated, and worked out in much detail, in these papers, a policy in respect to these remote regions, which the philanthropists in England have for some years advocated in vain. This is the policy of organizing the native tribes into federal communities, capable of protecting themselves against the aggressions of white men. Possibly, however,

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this may be arming them against one another, and possibly too against ourselves.

A more serious design cannot be conceived; but it must be pursued with very different views from those which influenced the Colonial Office at the time of its conception in November, 1850, as a mere arm against the Boers.

"The first step to be accomplished," said Earl Grey, "is to induce some of the chiefs of the tribes near the newly-discovered lake, in lat. 20° S., to establish a confederacy, and to invite the residence among them of an officer, to be appointed by the Governor of the Cape. If an able and active officer, such as the commandant of Kaffraria, or the diplomatic agent in Natal, were appointed, he would virtually, through the chiefs, direct the government of the confederacy, and, with the assistance of the Missionaries, gradually extend its influence, and establish a more regular and settled government. The only expense to be incurred in the first instance, would be the salary of the resident, and the cost of a small armed force on the model of the Kaffir police, by which the authority of the confederated chiefs, that is in their name, of the resident, must be maintained. This expenditure might be met by requiring every man of the associated tribes to pay, either in money or produce, such as cattle, corn, ivory, gum, &c., an annual tax, like that imposed on the Zoolas at Natal.

"If the first step could be accomplished, and if security for person and property, under a government nominally of native chiefs, but really directed by an European resident, of the necessary qualifications, could be established in one district, however small, I feel persuaded that, with the assistance of the Missionaries, and the civilizing influence of commerce, the system thus commenced would, with judicious management, speedily extend itself, as *the neighbouring tribes would see the advantage of belonging to the confederacy, and would desire to be added to it on equal terms.*

"The proposal to extend the statute 6 & 7 Wm. IV. *to the equator,* has been recommended by the Privy Council;

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and I hope to be able, in the next session of Parliament, to introduce a bill for this purpose."

Thus Earl Grey erected a vast social edifice for the interior, upon the foundation of a supposed success in Kaffraria. But that success having been subverted by the Kaffir war, other means must be devised for the attainment of this great object,—South African civilization. Indeed, when the organization of Kaffirland and Natal was relied upon as a precedent for the *voluntary* confederacy, to be proposed to the New Lake chiefs, it was forgotten that the organization of British Kaffraria was the result of *several wars*, and the fruit of *the most stringent coercion;* and that the organization of Natal depended on the assent of 100,000 black refugees, whose great chiefs would certainly be no parties to it.

The most praiseworthy object, therefore, of the Government, *to protect the natives of South Africa from white aggression*, as here aimed at by the Secretary of State, must rest on other bases; and the history of the Cape Kaffirs, which, as read by Earl Grey, fails to justify the new scheme at Lake Ngami, may be found, by a wiser interpretation, replete with better lessons to the same end.

The earliest recorded intercourse of the Cape colony with the Kaffirs, is in 1702. At this period, a body of colonists having killed many of the natives, without provocation, the authorities, in reporting the case to Holland, state that, "the business being of vast consequence to the colony, on account of the numbers implicated, it ought to be passed over, with *the intention to take good care* that no further opportunity were given to commit such acts." The *good care* was never taken; and similar bad acts were continued unrepressed for a century, when a more humane spirit prevailed, towards the end of the Dutch rule in South Africa. But the error of feebly reproving the abuses of intercourse with the Kaffirs was even then followed by another error quite as mischievous, namely, that of attempting to stop all intercourse with them, in order to suppress

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its abuses. The Kaffir chiefs perfectly appreciated the advantages to be gained from the whites; they insisted that peace could not be kept between neighbours who did not meet familiarly; and they remonstrated warmly against the prohibition of communication with the borderers. That prohibition was at length given up by the advice of commissioners of inquiry, sent to the Cape of Good Hope, in 1823.

Dr. Vanderkemp founded the first Mission, in 1799, among the Kaffirs, which their temporary jealousy of the English caused to be abandoned; but the remarkable character of that eminent man was duly estimated by them; and along with the more recent impressions made on their minds by the elder John Williams, founder of the second Kaffir Mission, led to the subsequent zealous reception of Missionaries by all the Kaffir tribes. Of the Christian progress of many individual Kaffirs at the respective Institutions, notwithstanding their frequent disturbance by wars with the colony, there is no doubt; and the example of the chief Tzatzoe, originally taught at Bethelsdorp, and brought up in connexion with the London Missionary Society, and Kama, brought up in connexion with the Wesleyans, both admirable Christian men, favoured by circumstances, and by strong individual aptitude, show what might have been produced upon the minds of the leading Kaffirs in general, if their people had been treated with common consideration and justice by the British Government.

When we received the Cape colony from the Dutch, in 1795, and again in 1806, a large portion of the Kaffirs had advanced, with a probably legal title, far beyond the boundaries set up by our predecessors as the proper line of separation between them and the colonists; and so late as in 1811 many of the natives were scattered as useful herdsmen, and acceptably to the farmers, so far as towards [illegible]endam. This fact is undisputed; and it is equally [illegible] their chiefs at that time, forty years ago, [illegible] sincerely solicited instruction from our Mis-

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sionaries for their young people. The prejudices of the Government, much more than any ill-will on the part of the colonists, were opposed to their solicitations being granted; and the expense and bad effects of a frontier war to expel them from a country they called their own, were deliberately preferred to the employment of proper means of civilizing them in intimate connexion with us. This *first* great Kaffir war, begun in 1811, cost more money than would have bought the land contended for. Its monstrous injustice was exceeded by its gross impolicy.

After we had driven them into the country we called Kaffirland, we interposed so indiscreetly in disputes between the tribes, and we retaliated so violently for occasional cattle-stealing, as to rouse a new spirit of resistance, and bring on a *second*, dangerous Kaffir war, that of 1819.

Its result in our favour led to further encroachments on their territory, and to a revival of the Dutch prohibition of intercourse between them and the colonists, with great jealousy of all Missionaries; when, in 1823, the appointment of a commission of solemn inquiry into every question affecting the natives of South Africa, promised the redress of grievances on all sides.

The Commissioners soon removed the restrictions on intercourse with the Kaffirs. The eastern colonists, who were much increased in number by a British emigration in 1820, earnestly demanded the advantages of trading beyond the boundary, and of employing Kaffirs as farm-servants. Both points were conceded, besides the removal of all difficulties in the way of Missionary Institutions. The Commissioners further advised, that political agents should be appointed in Kaffirland, to aid the chiefs in carrying on satisfactorily the new relations opening between them and the colony; and that fairs should be established on the borders, to facilitate the interchange of commodities on both sides. They strongly condemned the old system of *Commandos*, or armed expeditions of colonists, to recover stolen cattle; of military *patrols*, which harassed the natives

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far more than they protected the colonists; and of *reprisals*, which too often made the innocent answerable for the guilty, when property was lost. The Commissioners were supported by all parties in their views on these three points of border police. They also advised that a lieutenant-governor should reside on the Kaffir frontier to superintend the great change that was obviously in progress.

For more than ten years all these recommendations as to the border police and a Kaffir agency, were neglected. An accumulation of exasperating disputes therefore grew up, until more territory was taken from the Kaffirs in 1829 and in 1833, under circumstances of extreme aggravation, which produced the *third* Kaffir war of 1834-5.

This war closed with the conquest of Kaffirland by us, and by the declaration of the portion west of the river Kei, with the inhabitants, being British, and of their being subjected to British criminal law. This new British people was to have an ample provision of "ministers of religion, and other teachers," to be furnished by the State, and the chiefs were to act as magistrates if required, but British-born magistrates were also to be distributed among them.

The system of *coercion* thus set up is called the *D'Urban* system, from the Governor who formed it, after conquering the Kaffirs, and who required them to make a treaty with him for that purpose. The date of the treaty was the 17th of September, 1835. This D'Urban system was rescinded by orders from England, on the 2nd of February, 1837. In the meanwhile it did not tranquillise the Kaffirs, or secure the colony; a great Kaffir war was imminent, pending its being in force, and the great emigration of the Boers to the interior, which it would have prevented if effectual, took place notwithstanding its influence. It is indeed notorious, that the frontier was in extreme danger under the D'Urban system, as its author knew well; and that notice of the disapproval of it in England saved the colony from a frontier explosion. But although the

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Boers were disappointed at the D'Urban treaty of 1835, other colonists were deeply interested in maintaining it, inasmuch as they steadily sought to crush the Kaffirs, and large grants of land were promised to them in the conquered province; which facts are the keys to much of the violent language used on the D'Urban system being rescinded.

Its abolition, and the restoration of the country to the Kaffirs, on the ground of the conquest being unjust, were the most remarkable events that ever occurred between us and this people. Out of these events grew other treaties, which constitute the Glenelg or Stockenstrom system, in contradistinction to the system founded on Sir Benjamin D'Urban's treaty.

This new system was the result of a long inquiry before a Committee of the House of Commons. That Committee was appointed in 1834, in order to advocate the claims of the aborigines of the colonies to more humane treatment than was usual. It recommended the change of policy effected by the Kaffir treaties of 1837.

The essential distinctions between the two systems is, that the D'Urban system rests on the coercion and conquest of the natives,—the Glenelg system, on native independence. Both imposed certain rules of a similar character upon the Kaffirs, respecting the police of the border, and they differed mainly in the estimates their supporters formed of the native character and rights. Excepting on some points of detail, which the Kaffirs changed in compliance with the wishes of our governor Sir G. Napier, and Sir P. Maitland, the Glenelg system was in force until 1845, when its efficacy was formally inquired into by the Cape Legislative Council; and *its success* was powerfully insisted upon, without any opposition in that body.

That success was illustrated in a remarkable manner, in regard to *cattle-stealing*,—a subject of vital importance to a *pastoral* colony, and a perfect touchstone of the social progressof *pastoral* barbarians like the Kaffirs.

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It was shown then, that during six years, viz. from 1839 to 1844, there was a most material reduction under the treaties, in the number of cattle stolen by the Kaffirs; and also a material increase in the number of the stolen cattle restored by the Kaffirs to the owners.

It is further known, upon the best evidence, that prior to the Glenelg treaties, the usual amount of cattle *recovered* was only one-sixth to one-tenth of the number stolen; whereas the recoveries under the treaties were one-half to one-third during nine years. Not only, too, did the Kaffirs thus prove themselves anxious to restore stolen cattle, and make the compensation due, but it is certain that "more acts of plunder were put to their account, than they were guilty of." This is the positive testimony of the most impartial and highest authority at the Cape.

Other circumstances prove the good faith of the Kaffirs respecting the treaties of 1837. They often gave up offenders to justice, and acquiesced in their punishment under a sense of duty. They also, under favourable circumstances, have kept the frontier free from marauding, to a degree quite beyond all experience, and maintained peace for nine years.

Their conduct in these respects was formerly adjudged to be praiseworthy by the legislature of the Cape colony, shortly before Sir Peregrine Maitland made the *fourth* war against the Kaffirs in 1846; and a more unjustifiable resort to the dreadful appeal to arms, history does not record.

The immediate antecedents to thatwar strongly mark the incapacity of the Cape Government of that day, to meet the difficulties belonging to the transition of a barbarous people to civilization. The Governor's ruling idea was, that an active war-party had grown up in Kaffirland among the younger men. He had no cure for this probable evil, but strengthening their hands by new acts of injustice on the part of the Colonial Government; and then to make war himself on the Kaffir natives upon the first shadow of a pretext for hostilities. It was also unquestionable, that a

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war-party existed among the colonists, and the Governor did not perceive that its influence must be increased by the indulgence of its appetite for Kaffir territory.

An important counterpoise to both of these war parties is mentioned by the Governor himself, in the application of two powerful Kaffir chiefs, before the war, to settle in the colony, in order to bide in peace with the English. Such an amalgamation was of all things to be desired, and would have produced the happiest effects on both sides of the border. It ended with a passing mention in a despatch to England; and attracted no more attention at home than it made impression on the Governor.

One of the chiefs thus well disposed was Macomo, whose whole grievous case stamps indelible dishonour on our administration of the Kaffir frontier, from long before his hard expulsion from his original home, a quarter of a century since, to the day of his daughter's appeal on his behalf, when exiled from Kaffirland, in the war of 1846. This last most painful story is preserved by Mrs. Ward, an English officer's wife, who was with our army when the event narrated by her occurred. That lady is deeply and undisguisedly hostile to the coloured race; but she has kept a woman's sympathising record of an act the most condemnatory of wars of conquest since our own unhappy Boadicea was a victim of one, under circumstances more brutal, indeed, but not a hundredth part so touching as those of Macomo's daughter.

Ledyard's praise of woman, the traveller's friend in every barbarous land, is deservedly famous; and the sweet song addressed by Mungo Park's African girls to the "poor white man" sheltered by their hospitality, might well be sung, as it was sung, with delight in British palaces. But those charming traits of humanity are the merest commonplace, when compared with this heart-breaking Kaffir story. They justly elevate our fellows in the rudest condition; but this story stamps merited reproach upon the ill-considered policy of a great civilized nation.

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Mrs. Ward states correctly, that the young girls in Kaffirland are brought up with strict notions of female propriety. To forfeit their reputation is to entail on themselves severe punishment, and on their families perpetual disgrace. And one of these young girls, "the beauty of Kaffirland," Amakeya, the daughter of the great chief Macomo, is the heroine of the following brief narrative, which will be fitly given in the words of Mrs. Ward herself; and surely among "the wives of England" there cannot be wanting some able and eager to vindicate the honour of their country, by appealing to the highest woman in the land to stay in these her remote dominions the terrible causes of these most pitiable exposures of our common humanity.

"At the end of the campaign," says Mrs. Ward, "Macomo, when beaten, was to be removed, with all his people, to Algoa Bay. He had opposed the war from policy; but when once the cry was raised, he assumed the command, being general of the Gaikas. When he surrendered, he used every means to remain in his own location. His appeal was pathetic. 'Here,' said he, 'stretching his hand over the beautiful territory, my father, a great chief, dwelt. These pastures were crowded with cattle. Here I have lived to grow old. Here my children have been born. Let me die in peace where I have lived so long.'

"His entreaties could not be listened to. And as a last trial, his daughter, Amakeya, the beauty of Kaffirland, made her way to the tent of Colonel Campbell, of the 91st Regiment, who, totally unprepared for her appearance, was yet more astonished at the sacrifice she offered, if her father's sentence of banishment might be rescinded. If her father might remain in his own land, she said, she would be the sacrifice and guarantee of his future good faith to the white man. She would leave her own people, and follow Colonel Campbell; his home should be her home; she would forsake all, and dwell with him!

"Amakeya was the belle of the camp at Fort Hare; and no doubt she had been sufficiently reminded of her charms to make her sensible of the value of them. She made her strange offer in all the pride and consciousness of beauty. With her finely moulded arms folded before her, she spoke without hesitation; for she was guided by motives worthy of a lofty cause—motives how desecrated! Poor Amakeya!

"Those motives were not unappreciated by her hearer, who had

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every consideration for her; and she departed with her father on his journey. We may fancy her taking a last look at the green plains where her childhood had passed; and finally settling down among a strange people, in sight of the 'great waters.'"—*Mrs. Ward's "Cape and the Caffres."* 12mo. 1851. p. 202.

Yet this chief, thus driven into exile, after a life of degrading ill usage at our hands, would have come among us with good will, and a peace-maker!

An act still more impolitic on our part had well nigh forced on this war of 1846, even before we chose to begin it. At a moment of great excitement on the subject of territory, and of our encroachments, the Government took formal steps towards occupying new ground for a fort *in Kaffirland.* The paramount chief seemed not indisposed to allow this on certain reasonable conditions; but his councillors disapproved of the cession. Nevertheless, without more consultation, and through a series of extraordinary mistakes, indicating our habitual carelessness of Kaffir rights, we persevered in surveying the land under a strong military party, to the extreme dissatisfaction of the Kaffirs. The Governor's excuse was, that he did not know the assent of the chief was needed in such a case. Fortunately, the frontier authorities were prudent, and the Kaffirs moderate, so that hostilities were averted on this occasion, when the war seemed on the eve of breaking out—"unprovoked," as the Lieutenant-governor candidly declared, "by any act of the Kaffir natives." He adds, "that war was obviously incited by rumours wickedly circulated by persons always ready to do the work of agitation."

These instigators of frontier mischief soon succeeded in their "wicked" work; and in a few weeks the Governor proclaimed war against the Kaffirs on two grounds: namely, 1st, to crush the war party in Kaffirland; and 2ndly, to compel the chiefs to punish the Kaffir murderers of a Hottentot constable.

It is plain, then, that without overt acts of a very grave

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character, done by such a *war party*, hostilities to suppress it could at no time be justifiable; and the special act insisted on in this case was certainly not, in its circumstances, of this grave character.

A Kaffir had stolen an axe, for which the magistrate sent him under an escort to a remote town to wait for the circuit court; when, as his countrymen asserted, he ought for such an offence to have been punished on the spot at once. They rescued him, and in the conflict, the escort shot one of the Kaffir assailants dead, and the Kaffirs killed a Hottentot to whom the Kaffir accused of theft was handcuffed. It may be admitted that the poor Hottentot guard was barbarously murdered to effect the release of the Kaffir.

The language and conduct of the chiefs called upon to surrender the culprits, would have satisfied a reasonable government. The first chief, one of minor rank, to whom those culprits immediately belonged, went at once to the resident to explain the case. He had originally taken great pains to moderate the proceedings of the magistrate, who, he alleged, was in the wrong. "*The prisoner was unjustly accused*," he said, "*and hurried off without inquiry.*" He then wished the whole case to be laid before the Governor to be considered. The Governor would then see who was right and who was wrong. The best thing, he added, that the Government could do, was to leave the affair as it stood. "A Kaffir was dead on one side, a Hottentot on the other." The next superior chief concluded a like reply by saying, that "The Kaffir and the Hottentot killed had been paid for by each other's blood. The Governor weeps for the Hottentot. We weep for our man." And the chief paramount, Sandilli, declared, that "He did not understand the treaties required small thefts, such as of beads and axes, to be tried at Graham's town, so far off, and at the circuit court. I understand," said he, "that stealers of horses and cattle should be sent there, ... a short imprisonment at Beaufort would suffice for

petty thefts. The Governor must not be in haste with forces in this case. Let us speak about it, that we may understand it."

The Governor, however, put another construction on this event. He held it to be a proof of the influence of the *war-party* in Kaffirland, and determined to use it as a good occasion for crushing that party. Accordingly, in 1846 he made war upon the Kaffirs, and in seven months closed it with the conquest of all Kaffirland to the Kei. His successors adopted the conquest, and the Home Government confirmed it; thus reviving the *D'Urban* system of coercion, and abolishing the conciliatory treaties of 1837.

The *result* is before the world in a *new Kaffir war*, begun by us, and aggravated in its calamities by the union of other border tribes, and the rebellion of many even of the Hottentots against us.

The war of 1846, after so many years of peace produced by the treaty of 1837, was made to suppress the *war-party*, which, as our Government said, overruled the influence of the more peaceably disposed chiefs. The present war has broken out, says the present Governor, at the instigation of the chiefs, whose influence he declared he had destroyed by the forcible introduction of a system that was to benefit the people at their expense.

It is clear, that in both instances we mistook the character of our neighbours. Before the former war, it was our encroaching, unreasonable acts, that made the Kaffirs, chiefs as well as the people, equally uneasy. Had we been wise and just, the war would have been impossible, whatever any war-party in or out of Kaffirland might wish. In the present case, it is our foolish, brutal treatment of the chiefs, that has roused in the people all those old affections of clanship and family, which, once outraged, make men submit to every sacrifice for their national leaders; but which, skilfully dealt with, enable wise men to change and improve the character of the rudest tribes.

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There is, then, but one way to restore hope of lasting peace to this distracted region. In the language of the Attorney-General of the Cape Colony, when establishing the satisfactory results of the system of conciliation upon the occasions already referred to,—

"Both Kaffirs and colonists are, to no small extent, the creatures of the circumstances by which they are surrounded; and, placed as this colony is, it is by Christianizing and civilizing the Kaffirs; by religiously respecting our own engagements; by a judicious admixture of firmness and forbearance, reward and punishment; by encouraging the well-disposed, and strengthening their hand against the mischievous; and by gradually cultivating among them the notions of moral obligation;—it is by such things, more than by commands, more than by seizing land, more than by military force, that the ultimate safety of the frontier farmers is to be secured."

On the same occasion, this colonial functionary rebuked an atrocious sentiment lately reproduced in the House of Commons, and received there, and throughout England, with a degree of horror that justifies the strongest confidence in better principles. These remarks of the Attorney-General at the Cape, on the Kaffir case, will properly close the present notice of it. He said that his own sentiments, cited above, are shared by the best men on the frontier; but that a small knot there treated them with scorn. One of this knot, he adds, had recently declared a principle which, reduced to action, would produce atrocities, in comparison with which all that Alva ever did in the Netherlands—all that Dundee ever did in Scotland—all that Pizarro ever did in Peru—would be merciful. "*That the savage Kaffirs should be made to sink before the industrious European, and thus make room for him, could occasion me no feeling but pleasure*," said the Cape-frontier Englishman. And on this monstrous sentiment the Attorney-General of the colony commented thus:—

"This profound contempt of colour, and lofty pride of caste, contains within it the concentrated essence and active principle of all the tyranny and oppression which white has ever exercised over black. But the Cape-frontier Englishman is not alone. A member

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the British House of Commons, in one of the New Zealand debates, is lately said, that the brown man is destined everywhere to disap-ar before the white man, and that such is the law of nature. It too true that an induction of historical instances would seem to stify his theory. The history of colonization is the record of the ark man's disappearance. But, to use Lord Plunket's well-known words, *history unenlightened by philosophy is not better than an old lmanac*, and while it is indisputable that the contact of civilization of a CERTAIN GRADE, with men uncivilized, has been and must ever be destructive to the latter, it is yet to be tried, whether civilization of a higher order—civilization in comparison with which the so-called civilization of former times was barbarism—is not destined to reverse the process, and prove that the tendency of true civilization is not to destroy, but to preserve; and surely, if this problem still awaits its solution, by no nation, so fitly as by England, can the great experiment be made."—*Parl. Papers. Kaffir Tribes.* Feb. 1847. pp. 18, 19.

The present Governor of the Cape has deferred the solution of the PROBLEM, what to do with the Kaffirs, until the close of the war, which is now raging. It will be a wiser and a safer policy to retrace at once our false steps, which brought on the war, and hasten at once to reconstruct the better system of conciliation and justice, which before relieved the frontier from danger, and produced the long peace, still capable of being restored and turned to a more profitable account.

The influence of the Kaffir war will be great upon the interior. Fifteen years ago, Dr. Philip warned the Government of the ferment that prevailed then from Lattakoo to Natal. It has, at present, the far wider range described in the opening of this chapter. The circle of human beings affected by our policy, is widening every day. But every day we are more and more nearly approaching to the character of their destroyers, rather than to that of their civilizers and regenerators: seeming desirous to emulate in the south what France is doing in the north, instead of setting an example calculated to rouse them to spare the tribes, which in their African domains, as we in ours, they are mercilessly destroying.

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CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY TO CRADOCK—KAGA MOUNTAINS—SIR ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM—LORD GLENELG'S SYSTEM—HISTORY OF THE COLONY—TRUE POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN—CRADOCK NATIVE CONGREGATION—SOMERSET—DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH—MILK RIVER—GRAAFF REINET—VALUE OF FARMS—REV. MR. MURRAY—JOURNEY TO COLESBERG—DR. VANDERKEMP—AN UNEXPECTED VIS-A-VIS—KOPJES—COLESBERG TOWN—CONGREGATIONS—INTEMPERANCE—SAGACITY OF A DOG—ORANGE RIVER FERRY-BOAT ROPE BROKEN—COMFORTABLE PROSPECT—AMIABLE WIFE—CROSSING THE STREAM—EIGHT-HORSE VEHICLE—PHILIPPOLIS—MR. WRIGHT.

The next portion of my tour embraces a visit to the towns of Cradock, Somerset, Graaff Reinet and Colesberg. After a public breakfast in the old chapel at Tidmanton, to which the people had kindly invited me, I set out on horseback for Cradock, about eighty-five miles distant. The Rev. Mr. Gill of Fort Beaufort accompanied me to the Cowie, where he held a service in the evening, at Mr. Ainstie's, a substantial Scotch farmer, and beneath whose roof we were hospitably entertained. His farm-house is one of the best stone buildings that I have seen out of Cape Town. Mr. Green, of Balfour, accompanied me the whole distance. We breakfasted with Sir Andries Stockenstrom on our way, the next morning. I remained with him a few hours, and rode over part of his beautiful estate, Maastrom, a portion of which embraces some of the ro-...tic and delicious scenery of the Kaga mountains. The ...in range in the immediate vicinity of Sir A. Stocken-...ns a magnificent semicircle, and reaches to an ...f 800 or 1000 feet, crowned with luxuriant ver-

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dure to the summit, intersected by numerous ravines; these are filled with valuable forest timber, and the surface with grass, which in the autumnal seasons is varied with a rich variety of tint. The scene is altogether enchanting.

I found Sir Andries much shattered in health. This he attributes to the extreme fatigues attending his services during the Kaffir war of 1846 and 1847. There can be no doubt in any mind competent to form a judgment in such matters, that the colony is *vastly indebted* to this gentleman for his most efficient services in that war, as well as on many former occasions. Whether they have been duly appreciated and acknowledged, thoughtful men question. There are class prejudices and official prejudices which the best of men have sometimes to encounter, and under the disastrous influence of which the noblest friends of a community may become the victims. Among all who approved of the conciliatory policy of Lord Glenelg in relation to Cape and Kaffir affairs, Sir Andries Stockenstrom will hold a high place, and share unbounded confidence for talent, experience, unsullied honour, and indomitable perseverance. They will ever respect him as the fittest man to have given effect to that system, and thereby secure the permanent tranquillity of the colony, and the honour of Great Britain in this portion of her vast empire. The fearful expense of a new war, and the shaking to its very foundations of the colony itself, are the price paid by Great Britain for the preference of the coercive to the conciliatory policy, and the jealous caprice that ignobly forfeited the services of the ablest man in the colony.

I have often wished that this gentleman would favour the world with a history of the colony, especially in its relations with the native tribes within its boundaries and in the vicinity. During forty years, or nearly so, he has filled various important public offices; and being at once a keen observer of men and things, and a man of exact and practical habits, he could bring an immense amount of valuable information to his subject, and such as I am per-

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suaded might greatly serve, not merely the interests of the colony, but of humanity on the largest scale. I think by such a work, carefully prepared, most important truths would be elicited, measures examined, and principles illustrated, that would greatly tend to save the colony from future ill-advised steps, and the native tribes from the withering influence of the white man's touch. Nor even is that enough. It were surely no great honour to a Christian nation *not* to destroy the heathen population around them,—no *mighty* undertaking for Great Britain *not* to crush and exterminate comparatively defenceless tribes. There is no glory in goading the unoffending into resistance, and then visiting that resistance with retaliation and punishment. Yet there can be no question that the same process is now going forward, for the subjugation and ultimate ruin of all the native tribes along our colonial frontiers—Kaffirs, Bassutos, Fingos, Tambookies, and Griquas, that has proved so fatal to the races of the Hottentots during the last hundred years. Nothing can save them but an entire change of measures in our relations with them, and the selection of right men, at every point, to carry out such measures.

The road to Cradock is uninviting,—no beautiful Kaffir hills, no luxuriant scenery, beguile the traveller's hours. He must have a companion and be companionable. Then weariness vanishes, and even toil becomes a pleasure. "It is not good for man to be alone."

I found at Cradock our Missionary, Mr. Taylor, diligently employed in his work, both among the Europeans and the coloured population of the town. He was, some time since, at Theopolis, where the Kaffir war of 1846 broke out. We held two public meetings with his congregations during my visit. One of them was with the *coloured people*. I urged on them the importance of making greater pecuniary efforts towards carrying forward the labour of the Parent Society, and I was much gratified when, on the very next day, two of the leading men among them called

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on me with a list of subscriptions to the amount of £52 10*s.* per annum, and, I must say, I thought it *a noble contribution;* the riches of their liberality abounded through their deep poverty. They are also engaged in building a new place of worship for themselves, on the spot of land granted to them by the Government for the purpose, and towards the payment for the doors and windows of which I thought a donation of £20 from the Parent Society would be but a moderate and yet acceptable contribution. How wonderfully a few wealthy friends in England might encourage the hearts and aid the self-denying efforts of these poor but kind and zealous people in South Africa! A handful of corn scattered on these mountain tops would yield a harvest that should shake like Lebanon.

I returned from Cradock to attend the ordination service of Mr. Arie Van Rooyen, at Tidmanton, as referred to in Chapter VII., and from thence proceeded to Somerset, where I spent my 55th birth-day, and called to remembrance the various scenes I had passed through, and felt, I hope, grateful that "goodness and mercy had followed me all my life." Our Missionary here, Mr. Gregorowski, has a considerable congregation of coloured people, consisting of Hottentots and the late apprentices. Their wages are not more than 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* per day. Yet I find they raised not less than sixty guineas as their contributions towards the Missionary Auxiliary during the first nine months of this year—a sum quite adequate to the support of a native pastor, though not sufficient for a European. We held the Annual Meeting of our Auxiliary in the Dutch Reformed Church, whose excellent and warm-hearted minister, the Rev. J. Pears, kindly took the chair, having also allowed us a collection in his church on the previous Sunday, and which I received with unfeigned pleasure, not merely for its pecuniary value, but as an expression of fraternal and cordial sympathy. It was the *only* instance of the kind that occurred during all my journey. Access to the *pulpit* was easier than to the *purse.* "It is more blessed to give than

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to receive," said the Great Teacher, who *never* gave utterance to a feeble sentiment or a mistaken principle. "It is more pleasant to hear than to give," seems the practical belief of some of his avowed disciples in South Africa, and some who sympathise with them could be found, I fear, even in Great Britain.

From Somerset I proceeded towards Graaff Reinet. I had the pleasure of Mr. Pears' company for a few miles, and of Mr. Gregorowski's to "Alleen Gelaten," "the only spot left," as this very unique and exclusive kind of name signifies, but *why* so called I could not learn. From thence I reached the residence of a worthy native, whose names combined allusions to the great of past generations, "Aaron Paulus," who kindly supplied me with a fresh team of oxen. I next came to "Melk Rivier," "Milk River," a tantalizing epithet to a thirsty African traveller, picturing to himself a river of delicious milk; for, alas! there is neither milk nor river, no running brook nor purling stream; it is just the name of the dry bed of a torrent. However, here we off-saddled, and knee-haltered our horses, seated ourselves on the grass, and left our animals to browse *ad libitum*. Mr. Merrington, our Missionary, and Mr. Campbell, school-master from Graaff Reinet, had met me. It became dusk, and we wished to start—alas! the horses had wandered, got into some jungle down the dry bank of this Milk River, and could not now be found. We left a man in search of them, betook ourselves to my wagon, travelled through the starlight night, and reached our destination about seven in the morning. Amidst this arid and mountainous region the village has a beautiful appearance; it lies in a fertile valley, surrounded by lofty hills of sandstone and porphyritic clays. The town is well supplied with water from the springs that run among the hills. The gardens are delightfully irrigated. There is beauty in a gushing stream, that can scarcely be appreciated except in a "dry and thirsty land." The Zondag's River flows immediately below the village. The population here is about three thousand. Fruit in

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the season is abundant. Unfortunately for me it was *not* the season during the time of my visit.* The inhabitants are principally Dutch; the English, however, are on the increase. Landed property has greatly increased in value during the last few years: some sign this of prosperity in the colony. Three farms were purchased here for 60,000 rix dollars, or £4500: purchasers could now be found for them, willing to give that same sum for each farm. Nearly £4000 was lately refused for a farm that had cost, some time since, but £1500. The streets in the town are spacious; a fine stream runs through them, in Dutch style, and oleanders, the finest I have ever seen, flourished by their side, with the lilac-coloured syringa. There is also a noble market-place, and what is called the Boer's-place, a spacious and convenient open spot, where the farmers may unyoke their oxen and put up their wagons, on coming to church. Here are many good houses, shops, and warehouses. Everything seems substantial, and some modern changes are being introduced. Four huge massy wooden pillars are being removed out of the church, to be replaced, in this iron age—this fourth monarchy†—by four pillars of cast iron, presented to the congregation by four young men, as an act of friendship and respect.

The Sunday which I spent at Graaff Reinet was one of the most magnificent days I enjoyed in South Africa. The thunder and lightning of the preceding day had cleared the atmosphere; the closeness and sultriness then complained of had passed; the sky was intensely clear and exquisitely blue. It was a Sabbath morning: all was calm —emblem of the rest, and brightness, and sacredness of a still more exalted state.

* A practical market gardener would realize a fortune here. An onion sometimes costs a penny or twopence, and a cabbage a shilling! Vegetables are always scarce. Parties do not take the trouble of raising them, but they would buy and consume them if brought within reach.

† Daniel ii. 40; vii. 7, 19, 23.

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The services of the Rev. Mr. Lang, clergyman of the English Church here, are conducted in the English language. The Dutch Reformed Church is mainly for the white population using the Dutch language. Some few of the coloured people attend there, but under restrictions which rather discourage than invite attendance. Hence, a chapel such as our Society sustains is needed for a large portion of the population, where they may feel they have a home, and where the pure principles of New Testament church government may be adopted and practised.

With the Rev. Mr. Murray of the Dutch Church, I had some pleasant interviews. One of his sons is the minister at Bloem Fontein, and another at Burghersdorp. At this latter place a new "kirk" was building, at a cost of from £3500 to £4000. The amount is raised by the purchase of a large plot of building ground, which is then sold off in smaller lots (or *erven*) as the site of a village. These usually fetch a good price, and from the profit of the transaction about enough is realized to build the church. A manse is also building at a cost of £1300.

In addition to all this I may say that the religious services of the day were very delightful. The attendance on the public services was highly encouraging. Mr. Merrington appeared to me to be steadily pursuing his work with all his heart and soul; and his wife, a daughter of our late Missionary, Mr. Kitchingman of Bethelsdorp, proving herself a helpmeet to him, and a blessing to many. I found also an excellent school here, under the efficient superintendence of Mr. Campbell.

Supplied with relays of oxen, I proceeded from Graaff Reinet to Colesberg, and yet but slowly. Our cattle could find no herbage; they had scarcely anything beyond a draught of water to subsist on from day to day, and became, of course, too weak for much service. One could wish to see lucerne more extensively cultivated here. I found r. Murray strongly recommending it. It seems well pted to such a dry country as this, as by striking its

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roots to a great depth in the soil, it finds sufficient moisture even when all the surface is parched.

We passed a mountain of considerable height and singular appearance, called "Oude Berg," "Old Mountain;" its elevation might be about one thousand five hundred feet; its summit consists of bare perpendicular rock, from thirty to fifty feet high, resembling the gigantic walls of some ancient tower or rampart. It belongs to the Sneeuw Berg range. The frequent recurrence of these descriptions of natural scenery may almost weary a reader, but I found on travelling that much of the tedium of a monotonous journey was relieved, if only by watching the various forms of rocks, and the changing aspects of the clouds.

Dr. Vanderkemp, amidst many peculiarities, was singularly exact, in travelling, always to rest for the night at six o'clock. On one occasion, passing through a country like that which I am now describing, he had gone forward with his wagon beyond a stream, and yet had not reached another by his fixed hour of outspanning. He accordingly turned back. It became dark. His attendant, who is still living, went down to the side of the brook to obtain water, and there, much to his astonishment, came directly in front of a fine old lion on the opposite bank, who had also come down for a similar purpose. The lion, astonished at his new acquaintance, stared him full in the face, and not a little startled him. The poor fellow, scarcely knowing what to do, assumed the most courageous air and attitude he could, picked up a stone, raised his arm, and seemed to say to the grim monster, "Now, if you dare stir, I shall certainly throw this stone at you;" and there he had to remain, keeping his position all night, watching his opponent, not daring to stir or sound a retreat. At length morning came; the lion turned his back and walked off, and so did the man, thankful that he had not been made a dainty morsel of in this unexpected rencontre.

After some incidents that possessed an interest at the

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time, but which, like many of the events that make up the history of human life, have lost their charm by lapse of time, I safely reached the town of Colesberg. It is highly picturesque. It has a tolerable supply of spring water; but there is no river, and there had been no rain for six months. The stream running through the town seemed small in quantity, and quite guiltless of transparency or any other inviting quality. The fountain in the neighbourhood is inclosed by a stone wall, to prevent its being trampled and spoiled by the feet of cattle. There are some cheerful-looking trees growing in different parts of the town, and some of the buildings have an air of comfort and respectability. The Dutch Reformed Church is a spacious building, and the parsonage is well situated, graced by several elegant willows in front, which seem as though they never ceased "weeping" over the lot of the miserable aborigines, who have for the most part perished from the district, a few of them only remaining in the neighbourhood.

The population here amounts to six or seven hundred. The town is one of the most expensive for living in which the colony contains. All provisions are high in price, and wages also extremely high. The country is mountainous. The immediate vicinity of the town consists of what are locally termed "Kopjes," small tops or heads, miniature elevations, consisting of jagged heaps of stone or rock, and resting on a basaltic basis. They seem thrown up in confused and irregular masses, by some convulsive effort of nature, during a period of great volcanic action. They present the appearance of extreme barrenness. A few poor wretched Bushmen find shelter among them; two or three mats or skins constitute the tents, black as those of Kedar, in which they dwell, though, where subsistence can be found in such a region, it would be difficult to define.

Our Missionary here is Mr. De Kock. He succeeded Atkinson, now at Pacaltsdorp. The chapel, which

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Mr. Atkinson was the means of building, holds comfortably about two hundred and fifty people, and the congregation nearly fills it. Considering the limited character of the population, I thought the aspect of our Missionary station generally very encouraging. Still, the ministerial labours in the town cannot be called overwhelming, especially when viewed as divided among four denominations, viz., the Dutch Reformed, the Episcopalian, the Wesleyan, and the Congregational, or those of the London Missionary Society; and yet it would seem difficult to relinquish either. The watchmen on the walls of Zion, for contiguity, see "eye to eye," but each one retains charge of his own post of observation.

We held a public Missionary meeting, at which G. Rawstone, Esq., Civil Commissioner, obligingly took the chair. There was a good attendance, and a kind spirit manifested. I was struck with one man, who came forward to insert his name in the list of subscribers. He had been till lately a Mohamedan, and, as I understood, a priest; and, let the Koran forbid strong drink as it may, this genuine Mussulman was the constant victim of intemperance. He had now become a regular attendant on the ministry, and even the family worship of Mr. De Kock; a total change had taken place in his habits; he was supporting his family by his industry, and he put his name down, with that of his wife and child, to the amount of five rix dollars a month, which is equal to £4 10*s*. per annum,—really a handsome sum for a man in his circumstances, and yet, I dare say, more than saved by his happy rescue from intemperance to sobriety.*

* A curious fact was related to me while in the colony, of a man who had been much addicted to intoxication, but took a pledge of resisting it, and became a sober man. After a time, temptation proved too strong for his vows, and he indulged in the vice. Again he resolved an amendment, broke himself of the pernicious habit, and became a sober and a happy man. Once more he was in danger. He was in the town, and near the scene where he had been already a

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Mr. Wright and Mr. Vanderschalk, our Missionaries then at Philippolis, came forward to Colesberg, to escort me to their station, and to assist me in getting safely across the Orange River. And I must say, I found all this kind aid of eminent utility. They greatly facilitated my journey, added to my comfort, and saved my time.

We left Colesberg rather later in the day than we had intended, owing to the poor oxen having strayed out of the way for an hour, no doubt in search of pasture and water. We calculated on reaching the Orange River in about five hours, forgetting at the moment, that though our oxen had had rest for some days, they had scarcely obtained any provisions, and were therefore too feeble to advance at a rapid pace. It was eleven o'clock at night when we out-spanned just across the Oorlog's Poort River, which falls, near that spot, into the Orange River. We expected that we should easily reach the "Ferry" in the morning, and still be in good time to reach Philippolis in the course of the evening. Properly speaking, this part of the river is the Gariep, and *not* the Orange River, though frequently called by the latter name. It forms the principal of the two streams, the Gariep and the Caledon, which, by their junction at some miles distance below this, constitute the "Orange River."

We left our resting-place after breakfast, and reached the bank of the river about nine o'clock. There, while calculating on going over almost immediately, we found that

victim; he paused at the corner of a turning leading to the canteen, and at length resolved to go there: his faithful dog was close by, watched him as though he read his thoughts and inward struggle, and as soon as his master began to yield and turned the corner of the lane, the dog came to his rescue, seized the skirt of his coat, held him there, till a sense of shame, in being thus checked in his folly by a dumb animal, wrought a change in his unstable spirit; he yielded to the poor dog's remonstrances, who both "moved a resolution," and "carried an amendment;"—he dashed away from the danger, returned home, and has kept sober ever since. Is not Poor Fido entitled to be made an honorary member of the South African Temperance Society?

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the *rope of the ferry-boat had just broken.* The accident occurred while the boat was crossing from the opposite bank, loaded with a wagon and a team of oxen. The rope broke near the bank which they had just left. The ends of the rope being of course attached to the banks on both sides of the river, the disaster was of no consequence to those in the boat, as they could haul themselves to the side of the river to which they were coming. But it was a calamity for us. We had no rope from the *other* side with which to haul ourselves across, nor any men to fetch that portion of the rope from the opposite side, to be spliced and again fastened there. We were told that the accident *might detain us a fortnight;* that we should have to wait till the river, now so large and swollen, in consequence of late heavy rain, had become fordable; and that of this there was no immediate prospect. This was not very encouraging intelligence for one who was anxious to be pressing forward on his journey, and who had made specific arrangements to be at Philippolis, Griqua Town, and Kuruman, during the next month. The owner of the ferry-boat,* Mr. Norval, we had seen two days before in Colesberg; but he was expected here on his way to Bloem Fontein immediately; and then, when he came, we felt that some suitable arrangements would be forthwith made. However, this prop also gave way. Mr. Norval had passed during the night, and had gone forward far beyond the reach of helping us, or even of being consulted as to what we should do. But his *wife* would be on the spot shortly; she lived only a few miles off; she was a woman of business, and could attend to the affair with as much tact and skill as her husband himself.

Meantime, some person appeared on the opposite bank. Mr. Wright, aided by good lungs and the sound-conducting power of water, held a parley with him, and ascer-

* Lately established here at a cost, it is said, of £1000, a step in the onward march of civilization in South Africa, and a profitable speculation for the proprietor.

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tained that he belonged to a party at a short distance, who had come from Philippolis to meet me. Much to our satisfaction, we presently saw a small boat coming across the river, rowed by two men, and bringing a message to the effect that I should do well to return in it to the opposite bank, and leave my wagon to be sent forward as soon as the ferry-boat could be again used. I complied with the advice, and in a short time found myself in the Griqua country. Mrs. Norval was already there, and promised that a new rope, which was ready, should be immediately employed, and my wagon forwarded early the next day. The river at the part where we crossed is a noble stream. It quite equalled my expectation as to the volume of water rolling along. It was not so broad as I anticipated, but it was fuller and deeper, and more rapid. Fording it would have been totally out of the question; the current was far too powerful. It reminded me of the Thames about Richmond, at high water. It had been much swollen lately from heavy rains, higher up the country. It looked extremely turbid, and was bringing down immense quantities of earth from the neighbouring lands, through which the mountain torrents have passed to feed the principal streams. The scenery is fine; it may be pronounced rich. The banks are adorned with the willow, and it is stated that they are so to an extent of a thousand miles in length, owing to the serpentine course the river takes. The banks, on which I wandered about for the couple of hours that I waited, were of sand, formed by the decomposed sandstone, &c. in the vicinity. I picked up a few small specimens of agate.

Leaving my wagon under the custody of my people on the opposite bank, and quite satisfied that they would take the utmost care of it, and the property in it, and the oxen also, I commenced the final stage of this part of my tour. A light vehicle, a South African family omnibus, had been kindly sent for me. It was drawn right royally by eight capital horses. Though without any postilion or out-

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riders, *eight-in-hand*, we dashed away over the ground in a style that might have almost astonished our equestrian London natives in Rotten Row itself. I confess the plan, though very economical in point of time, is more fatiguing than the sober ox-wagon, with whose stately movements mortals can without difficulty keep pace. The comfort is, that though the pain of jolting is severe, you are put out of your misery all the sooner. This conveyance belonged to Gert Kok, a member of the family of Adam Kok, chief of Philippolis. We rested on our route, for an hour and a-half, at the residence of a Mr. Weise, a member of the Philippolis congregation, and before sunset found ourselves safely at Philippolis. H. Hendriks, secretary to the native government, and two intelligent natives, Piet Draai and Winsel, had come thus far to meet me. Adam Kok, the chieftain, had also been there himself, but was obliged to return, in consequence of the illness and decease of his sister. She was buried just before my arrival at the village.

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CHAPTER XI.

PHILIPPOLIS—PROPERTY OF THE GRIQUAS—ATTENDANCE ON SUNDAY—SCHOOLS—EDUCATION—PUBLIC MEETING—ANTELOPES—GRIEVANCES—RAMAH—BACKHOUSE—MESSRS. OSWELL AND MURRAY—CORANNAS—LEADING OUT THE VAAL—LANDS TO BE IRRIGATED—SURVEYOR'S REPORT—CROSSING THE RIVER—GRIQUA TOWN—WATERBOER—SCHOOLS—BECHUANA WOMEN—GEOLOGY—ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION—DIFFICULTIES—DISCOURAGEMENTS—ENCOURAGEMENTS—UNEASINESS AS TO LANDS—TREATIES—ALIENABLE AND INALIENABLE TERRITORY—LETTER TO EARL GREY—SIR HARRY SMITH TO EARL GREY—REMARKS ON THE LETTER TO EARL GREY—LEAVING GRIQUA TOWN.

I FOUND here the widow and part of the family of our late truly valuable Missionary, Mr. Wright, sometime since of Griqua Town. Mr. J. Wright, who had lately discharged, very efficiently and acceptably, the duties of the station, was residing with his widowed mother. His health was proving inadequate to the services required of him, and he was retiring from his engagements with the Society. I took up my temporary abode with Mr. and Mrs. Vanderchalk, in their hired cottage; and soon began to find, from the conversation of the chief and the people, who called on me, that my time and my thoughts would have full occupation during my visit.

The Mission chapel here holds about 700 people. It is in a very imperfect state, and indicates, I fear, some want of earnestness and liberality on the part of the congregation. There are no pews, and but few regular benches. The hearers bring their own seats with them—chairs and stools of all possible variety, and of the rudest

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description—a plan extremely inconvenient and undignified, though just a little *above* squatting on the ground.

And yet this absence of comfort does not originate in the poverty of the people. Many of the Griquas possess considerable property. I counted not less than from forty to forty-five wagons, belonging to the people who had come from the country to attend the services at Philippolis on the Sunday. Great numbers of the people also came on horseback. They are rich in wagons, horses, and oxen.

The attendance at the chapel is usually large and encouraging. It has occasionally been six hundred or seven hundred, and sometimes only half the number. Many Bechuanas live in the neighbourhood, and attend the chapel on Sunday. Services for them are held in their own language, the Sichuana, once in the school room, and once in the chapel. I think they are sufficiently numerous and intelligent to have a Missionary, specially and wholly devoted to their interests.

The state of education is not very satisfactory. The attendance in the school at Philippolis varies from thirty-five to seventy. At the out-station of Ramah there is about the same number. This fewness of scholars, amidst a large population, does not arise wholly from indifference on the part of the parents to the instruction of their children, but to the circumstances in which they are placed. But few families live at the town itself. The people reside on their farms or cattle-posts, where pasture and fountains can be obtained, and the distances are too great to permit the attendance of the children at any central station; besides which, the actual services of the children are in many cases required, to assist in tending the flocks and herds. It is an extremely desirable measure that the Griquas should devote themselves, more extensively, to *agricultural pursuits*, as a means of advancing them in the scale of civilization beyond the condition of the pastoral life, and still more as a means of weaning them from their fondness for *hunting excursions* in distant

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parts of the country, and in which they sometimes engage for months together, to the neglect of all domestic and civil institutions. Their agricultural pursuits require the services of the youthful members of their families, and hence the absence of children from the Mission Schools may be accounted for without imputing it to wilful neglect on the part of the parents. But even in these cases, their elementary education is not wholly forgotten. They procure some leading lessons from the Missionary, and make some little progress at home. A few *Griquas have united to pay the salary of a schoolmaster*, who resides at their farms, and instructs their families on the spot. This indicates a very laudable desire of improvement. I wish it were more general. The Griquas might have improved more than they have done. They certainly have not fully availed themselves of all their advantages. Philippolis itself is a poor town. Very few of the people have constructed good houses. They are not indeed addicted to the use of ardent spirits, but their fondness for tea, coffee, and tobacco, amounts almost to a fever, and which, unhappily, never becomes intermittent.

I was glad, during my visit at Philippolis, to be aided in my communications with the people, by Mr. Read, senior, from Philipton. It had been arranged that he should meet me here, and then accompany me to Griqua Town. He conducted public worship with the people, and addressed them efficiently at a public missionary meeting, which we held, and at which C. U. Stuart, Esq., Civil Commissioner, obliged and gratified us by taking the chair. These Griquas are sufficiently wealthy to pay the whole expense of the Mission established among them, and they are so much indebted to Missions, that they ought to do it. Mr. Stuart, to encourage them to become subscribers, promised to head their list by a donation of ten sheep. The people followed: some promised yearly amounts in money, and others cattle. Altogether about £80 was promised, and I thought it a respectable beginning. This was merely a

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revival of their former auxiliary to the Society; it had become rather inanimate, and needed resuscitation.

After the very ample details given by Major Harris and Mr. Gordon Cumming, touching all matters in connexion with the wild game of this part of South Africa, it would be not merely superfluous, it would be absolutely preposterous in me to say anything about it. I did not forsake my beaten track in quest of antelopes, quaggas, buffalos, elands, elephants, or lions. I saw occasionally herds of game in the distance, and I was told, every now and then, that they abounded far more than I could see. In a note which I received from Mr. Stuart, dated from Bloem Fontein, he remarks, "You will be amazed at the vast herds of game between half way to Colesberg (from Graaff Reinet) and Bloem Fontein. I reckon the number of game in my district at one million head. What a heart-stirring thing it is to let your horse have the reins, whilst he dashes up to some four thousand graceful antelopes!"

I dare say it would be very heart-stirring, but I could not induce my team of ten sober-minded oxen, with a cumbrous wagon at their tails, to try any such experiment.

Before leaving Philippolis, I had much conversation with the people regarding their civil and political circumstances. They had grievances of which they had to complain, and to these I shall more distinctly allude in a subsequent portion of this chapter. I will here only remark, that while I think the Griquas labour under some real difficulties and discouragements from the measures of Government, I am convinced they can be effectually helped only by helping themselves. They may require the guidance of an intelligent friend, the stimulus of encouragement, and especially fair dealing as to territory on the part of the British Government; but unless they act with decision, and vigour, and perseverance, in improving their own condition, they will deteriorate,—others of more energy will take advantage of them, and they will be superseded as a nation.

Leaving Philippolis on my way to the Vaal River, I sent

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forward my wagon, and proceeded the first fifty miles of my journey in a horse-wagon, accompanied by the chieftain, Adam Kok, and his secretary, Hendrik Hendriks, and some of the people. Mr. Read was also my companion, ever bland, lively and attentive, rich in illustrative anecdote, the unwavering friend of the coloured races, and the defender of the "poor and needy, and of him that hath no helper." Our party returned to Philippolis the next morning, and Mr. Read and myself proceeded to Groet Fontein, where the chieftain, A. Kok, is building for himself a good eight-roomed house and stables. There is an ample supply of water on the property; many families might be provided for. There is room there for a considerable village.

We visited the out-station of Ramah, where the stream divides the two districts of the Griqua country, governed respectively by the two chieftains, Adam Kok and Waterboer. The village is small, but there is an excellent native teacher there of the name of Frederick Kotze. He conducts the day-school, and holds service on the Sunday. The people are poor, extremely poor, but friendly and obliging. They cheerfully aided me by the loan of teams of oxen.

We reached the next day another out-station, called "Los Kop," where we remained two or three hours, held a short service with the people, and then went forward to Guahanop, on the banks of the Vaal, a station which, from the interest taken by James Backhouse, Esq., of York, in the improvement of the condition of the people, has since been very appropriately called "Backhouse." It is about one hundred and forty miles distant from Philippolis. Here I met with Mr. Hughes, our Missionary. He was just then busily engaged in assisting Mr. Murray to come across the river, and to convey over his wagons, on his return with Mr. Oswell, from the interior, whither those two gentlemen had been engaged with Dr. Livingstone in the discovery of the Lake—the great inland lake, called Ngami. Mr. Oswell I met a few days afterwards on the other side of the river, also on his way to Cape Town. I

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was glad to embrace the agreeable opportunity of conversing with both these gentlemen respecting the newly discovered lake, its surrounding country, inhabitants, productions, and scenery. But as I shall have occasion to advert again to this, when noticing my visit to Dr. Livingstone at Colesberg, I defer till then further particulars.

Our Missionary Station was commenced here in 1845, and has all along been identified with the Griqua Town Mission. The necessity of attempting a location here originated in the fact, that the supply of water at Griqua Town is not sufficient to meet the wants of any increase of population. Provided a plan could be devised by which a stream could be led out from the Vaal River, for the purposes of irrigation, a very considerable number of the people might settle here under advantageous circumstances. Mr. Hughes has been indefatigable in his attempts to secure this great object. He has removed there with his family, built a house, got a chapel raised, and collected several native families of Griquas and Bechuanas around him. I spent a Sunday there during my visit, and was delighted with the encouraging state in which I found the schools and congregations. There were also many Corannas attending service. Mr. Read addressed them through our interpreter Jantje Cupido. He appeared to understand the Dutch language quite well, which was used by Mr. Read, and to speak fluently the Coranna,—if indeed the term fluency can be legitimately applied to a language so replete with clicks, and sounds for which our English language fails in descriptive epithets. Judging from the pauses and intonations of the speaker, the language seemed to me singularly monosyllabic,—an idea that may a little confirm the opinion expressed by the Rev. W. Elliott, that there exists some relation between the Hottentot and the Chinese languages. The Coranna is a dialect of the Hottentot.

We held a public meeting next day. The people are poor, and deserve encouragement. They have but few

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means of increasing their property, unless they cultivate land, and that depends on the success of the scheme for securing artificial irrigation. Mr. Hughes has justly remarked,—

"The Griquas are not wanting in enterprise for hunting, farming, trading, wagon-driving, wagon-mending, and even wagon-making, nor would they be wanting in the enterprise of irrigation by the river-stream, could they but be shown, by actual experiment, how the thing is to be obtained. Could a model farm be successfully carried out on the banks of one of those rivers, the example would not be lost upon the people. But the execution of such model plans requires skill, capital, and experienced workmen,—and hence the difficulties in the way of the scheme."

Accompanied by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Read, I went to see the spot where it is proposed to lead out part of the stream, and also to see the extensive plain which it is proposed by that means to irrigate. The plain stretches along the side of the river up to the junction, the Vaal and the Zwarte or Black River, and where they then form the Orange River. The length of this very valuable slip of land is about fifteen miles. Its depth is about five hundred yards. Hence it is large enough to admit five or six hundred families, each having an *erf*, or plot of ground, of about two morgens or four acres, with a frontage of fifty or sixty yards. It consists of a fine rich soil, and is land fit for the plough. The basis is limestone, but the upper soil is a reddish sand, and which, though shallow at the upper or most distant part from the river, increases in depth as it approaches the stream. It has never yet been cultivated, and will not require manuring for many years. The fall of water between the spot where it is proposed to lead it out, and the spot where Mr. Hughes' dwelling-house now stands, is estimated at about thirty-five feet,—namely, twenty feet to the "rapids," including the fall there, about two or three miles up the river, and fifteen feet between those "rapids" and the spot where it is proposed to lead out the stream. I found the river high, and the stream broad, in consequence of the late heavy rains. At all times the stream is

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sufficiently large to irrigate even more land than it is at present projected to cultivate.

I felt so strongly impressed with the importance and necessity of this measure, that in concurrence with the wishes of Messrs. Hughes and Solomon, I wrote to Mr. Moffat, jun., to try and obtain his services as a surveyor, so as to ascertain the practicability of the plan before taking other measures. And as Mr. Moffat held at that time a Government appointment as surveyor, in the Orange River sovereignty, I wrote to Major Warden, British Resident, to solicit permission for him to render us the service required. This was cheerfully granted by Major Warden. But on examination, Mr. Moffat found that the level of the river was too low for the plan of irrigation, and that the work was "utterly impracticable." "This," in the language of Mr. Solomon of Griqua Town, "has proved a disappointment to the hopes they had entertained. On this the people had fondly fixed their hopes as the means of advancing their interests, and we had looked forward to it as the best expedient for giving a permanence and stimulus to our Mission."

A communication has been recently received from Mr. Hughes, in which he remarks, in reference to the surveyor's report, that the river level is eight feet too low for the plan of irrigation, and that—

"The subject is still pending. Mr. Freeman was so impressed with the absolute necessity of some such effort for Griqua Town District, that he repeatedly declared that nothing less than the unfavourable report of even a third surveyor would warrant our abandoning the plan. A second surveyor is now preparing to go and give his report of what can be done. But supposing that the level of the river-stream shall be found too low for irrigation by a mere water-course, there are friends who suggest that this said deficiency of eight feet ought to be overcome by the help of a water-wheel, raising the water to the level required. Mr. Cameron, of Cape Town, has kindly planned, and is now making, a model of said water-wheel, to show the possibility of something being done at some score of places on the banks of the Vaal and Black Rivers."

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Being now ready to leave Backhouse on my way to Griqua Town, about fifty miles distant, my wagon was taken down to the water side, then taken to pieces, and sent across the Vaal in a large boat. Mr. Read kindly preceded me, and had the pieces put together again in a very short time, a business in which, I confess, had it been left to me, I should probably have bungled almost as much as if I had attempted to preach in the Hottentot language.

Across the river I met Mr. Oswell, on his return from the Inland Lake. He was conveying with him some remarkably fine elephant-tusks, found in the neighbourhood of the lake. One of them was unusually large, weighing 105lbs. The ivory would fetch about four shillings a pound, so that this single tusk would be worth about twenty guineas.

Griqua Town has about 400 inhabitants. There is, however, but one fountain, and that affording a stream but just enough for the supply of the resident families, and the irrigation of the gardens attached to their houses. Some time since this fountain ceased to flow altogether, and remained dry about six years. There are not more than about twelve good houses in the town, including those of the Mission families and the Chieftain Waterboer. The station is important as a central field of Missionary operations, with its various out-stations. There are upwards of 1200 persons under the direct influence of the Missionary, and 500 of them communicants. The Missionary here is the Rev. E. Solomon, whom I had the pleasure of knowing some years previously in Cape Town, then attached to the congregation under the pastoral care of Dr. Philip; and now an accredited and valuable Missionary, trained for the service by the judicious instructions and paternal care of Dr. Philip—one of several so trained by Dr. Philip—men of the colony, and eminently qualified for the work to which they are committed,—honoured by the people and approved of God.

This Mission Station has been established between forty and fifty years. Mr. Anderson, who still survives, and re-

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sides at Pacaltsdorp, had been the companion of the Society's early Missionary, Mr. Kramer. They had travelled among the Griquas on the banks of the Orange River. Ultimately, the people settled here. The previous occupants of the country were Bushmen. This spot, now called Griqua Town, was formerly called Klaarwater. Waterboer, the chieftain, has been an enterprising, energetic, and intelligent man, well acquainted with the Scriptures, of a genuine Christian character, and well qualified to instruct as well as command the people.

The chapel here seats about 400 people, and the congregations average about 300, consisting of 120 Bechuanas and 180 Griquas. On special occasions as many as 500 attend. Of the members of the Church about sixty-five live on the spot; the others reside at the various out-stations of Moruani, Ngoras, Khaigap, Gassiep, Tsantsaban, &c. There are about seven day-schools maintained on this Mission, at which the average attendance is nearly 400; one infant school, containing forty-five children; and ten Sunday-schools, in which a large part of the entire congregation become scholars.

The Sunday which I passed at Griqua Town presented many scenes of physical and moral beauty. The day itself was remarkably fine, clear, and calm. The tremendously high winds of the preceding day had subsided, as if in obedience to the will of Him who has instituted the Sabbath and ordained it to be a day of undisturbed repose. An early meeting for prayer was held, and which was attended by about 200 persons. Between seven and eight o'clock the schools commenced. The infant-school met under the agreeable shade of some fine fruit-trees in Mr. Solomon's garden. The children were all neatly and comfortably attired, and which is no mean proof of the advancing civilization of the people: the nicely-fitting and clean little dresses of the young ones were made wholly by the people themselves. Most of the people are able to purchase clothes, and they are left here to do so. To sup-

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ply them gratuitously would be difficult from its expensiveness, and would be sure to create jealousy, however fair and impartial the intentions and the doings of the donors. A Bible-class was being held in the vestry, and a large Sunday-school, containing scholars of both sexes and all ages, assembled in the chapel. I visited next day the school under Mr. Solomon's care, and met there a large class of young persons, who read to me part of a chapter in "Chambers' Educational Course," in English, and translated each paragraph into Dutch, with much facility, and showed that they quite understood what they were about. Another class of about forty then assembled and read a chapter in a Dutch work, entitled the "History of the Old Testament," and on this and other corresponding subjects, they underwent a long and brisk examination, and indicated a wider and more exact knowledge of the Old Testament than I had met with elsewhere. Mr. Solomon conducted the examination in Dutch, on my giving him the points on which I wished some questions put; and the result, to my mind, was very satisfactory, and proved that for some time past great pains must have been taken with the young people. Much of this work of instruction had been conducted by Mr. Wright, before his removal to Philippolis, and the present Missionary reaps the fruit of it. A foundation is thus laid for an intelligent and improving congregation, and with this, for the progress of education for a long time to come. But here, again, I found an amazing dearth of materials for improvement. All the young people of the elder classes should be supplied with books to interest and improve them. I indulged the hope that the Religious Tract Society might furnish them with some ere long, in the Dutch language.

I had an interesting conversation with a native teacher from Moruana, of the name of Makami. He had slightly learned to read many years ago, while Mr. Read was Missionary at Kuruman, although the schools at that time were in a very imperfect and inefficient state. From that

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school, however, so many obtained the *rudiments* of Christian knowledge, that when some years afterwards Mr. Read visited the neighbourhood, he found no less than thirty two who had become members of the Christian Church.

Several Bechuana women called in to greet me on my arrival in their country. I was struck with their appearance as sober-minded and intelligent women, and I took the opportunity, through an interpreter, of urging on them the importance of their *using all their maternal influence in a right direction*, as so much of the future character of the nation depended on the instruction and influence of the mothers. They assured me that they felt aware of this, and the great importance of it, and that they habitually prayed that *God would help them*, so that they might succeed in their efforts.

During my stay in Griqua Town, I went two or three times to the rising ground on the south side of the town, a favourite spot, I should think, with all visitors fond of geological and mineralogical pursuits. I gathered up there some choice specimens of the schist, containing what is called the yellow or golden asbestos. The whole formation is really beautiful. The layers are often remarkably fine and thin, yet deposited one on the other with most exquisite regularity and evenness. The colours are richly preserved. It constitutes, altogether, the finest exhibition of the kind I have seen. The quantity seems boundless. The contortions, too, of some portion of it are as singular as can well be imagined. I brought home several specimens with which to gratify others as well as myself.

Waterboer the chieftain entered very fully into the scheme for irrigating the lands at Backhouse. He wishes to encourage the people to prosecute the enterprise, though attended with expense, and he was prepared to meet favourably the various points of arrangement respecting the holding of the land, that had threatened some little difficulty. He is a remarkably keen and intelligent man, takes at once a clear and comprehensive view of a subject, and

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expresses himself with great propriety. He is said not to retain the energy he formerly had. I found him suffering much from pain and indisposition, but I saw at once that he was a superior man. The great difficulty in regard to the plan of leading out a stream from the Vaal River at Backhouse, consists in its expensiveness. The plan contemplated, when I was on the spot, could not be effected for less than one thousand pounds. It was proposed however to sell allotments of land, having the benefit of the irrigation, at £10 each. It was expected that a hundred purchasers would soon be found among the Griquas and other natives, if they once saw, on the basis of a professional opinion, that the object could really be accomplished. A committee was appointed to act on the business, consisting of Waterboer, as president, Mr. Hughes, superintendent of works, Mr. Solomon, treasurer, and four persons among the natives, chosen by the allotment holders themselves. It was also unanimously agreed that any natives, Bechuanas, Fingoes, Hottentots, Bushmen, &c., who could pay the said ten pounds, should possess an equal right to become a landholder with the Griquas themselves.

There exist, however, many drawbacks to the improvement of the people, some of which are quite beyond their control. These should be taken into consideration by the friends of the coloured races, when uncharitable reports are circulated, as they not unfrequently are, to the prejudice of the people. Mr. Solomon, in his report on the Griqua Town Mission, for 1850, observes :—

"Several circumstances have conspired to produce depression, a few of which I may mention.

"The first is, severe and long-continued drought, aggravated at the commencement of this year by the ravages of immense swarms of locusts, by which all the corn, maize, and garden stuff of our people were destroyed, together with the pasturage of the country. Such visitations present a greater obstacle to our progress than those at a distance might conjecture. Their first effect is to impoverish the people, and produce that depression of mind inseparably connected with very spare and poor diet; but their indirect effect is still more

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injurious, as they scatter our people, and remove them sometimes for months from the means of grace, and the superintendence of their pastors and deacons. As soon as a drought has set in, most of our people have to seek some place where they can obtain water and grass for their cattle. Should the drought continue, frequently a whole location is broken up and dispersed; and even after rain falls, it seldom happens that all return to their homes,—some having found a spot which suits their inclinations. And those who do return rarely come back improved by the circumstances into which they have been thrown, those being either complete isolation, or else too close a contact with their heathen neighbours. Many of our church members have as yet few mental resources of their own—their views of Divine truth are not very comprehensive—books in their language are very scarce, and consequently, they in a special manner require the excitement and stimulus of the means of grace. Severe drought has been one of the difficulties with which we have had to contend this year. At one of our villages so severe was the drought, that the poor people had actually to go to a spring five miles distant to draw water, their own fountains having completely failed.

"Another cause is a feeling of insecurity regarding their tenure of ground, excited by the fact of the British Resident at Bloem Fontein having come within the boundaries of Waterboer's district, and erected some beacons (land-marks) there. His plans are not yet developed, but reports are rife that he intends to take in, and include within the Sovereignty, a large patch of Waterboer's ground. These reports are credited, and the people are restless, suspecting that ere long they will be entirely deprived of their territory; and I regret that I am compelled to say, that the course hitherto pursued by the Colonial or British Government, on this side of the Orange River, affords too much ground for such a suspicion.

"Another difficulty in our way this year has been the hunting expeditions of our people. These expeditions are, in many respects, injurious to themselves, involving, as they do, their absence from their families and the means of grace for five or six months,—living a rude and certainly not the most civilized kind of life, besides losing the best time of the year for agricultural labours. But, I suppose, these hunts will be continued so long as they are fancied by our people to be profitable. For the last few years, the periodical hunts had lost much of their attraction; but the discovery of the Interior Lake last year, and the large quantity of ivory brought home by a few of our Griquas, who went to that neighbourhood, very naturally revived their love for the hunt, and excited their desire for gain; and consequently, a large number of our men have been in the interior to hunt

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elephants this year, thinning our congregations, and removing for six or seven months, from under our influence, those who might have been employed in promoting the interests of the Mission and country. However, as these hunts will, in all probability, become year by year less productive, the evil is likely to work its own cure."

In reference to the above remark of Mr. Solomon, as to the suspected encroachments of the British Government on the lands of the people, Mr. Hughes, writing from Backhouse, remarks:—

"Mr. Solomon is very right in describing the Griquas as suspecting that a part of their territory is about to be wrested from them by the British Resident, for the benefit of the Boers of the Sovereignty. The prevention of such suspicions was our object in bringing the Griquas into treaty with the Governor of the colony; and if now such treaties are not to be respected by the parties who made them, then all confidence is at an end. But we will still hope,—as we hear that the chief, A. Waterboer, is taking steps to restore this confidence, and a few months may show the result."

This question of the taking possession of the lands of the people is a very serious one, and involves most important consequences, both to the people themselves, and to the tranquillity of the colony. I found the utmost uneasiness and dissatisfaction prevailing on this subject at Philippolis. The measures adopted by Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, appeared to me not only to be a violation of treaties solemnly entered into with the people, and confirmed by Her Majesty's Government, but involving much hardship and injustice towards the natives as individuals, in depriving them of acknowledged rights over private property.

In the year 1846, Sir Peregrine Maitland, then Governor, entered into a treaty with Adam Kok, chieftain of the Philippolis division or district of the Griqua Country, and which, after distinctly recognizing the right of the Griquas to the country, declares "*a certain portion of the country to be alienable, and the other portion inalienable*," and arranges that the Griquas should receive half the amount of quit-rents received by the Government from the farmers, whether

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occupying one district or the other. In 1848, Sir Harry Smith, being at Bloem Fontein, formed a new treaty, instead of that of Sir Peregrine Maitland, and forced by intimidation the chief, Adam Kok, to sign it, threatening to hang him and his councillors on the spot if they did not do so. By this new treaty they were made to accept a subsidy of £300 a-year, in lieu of any share in the quit-rents. Provision is made for their claiming back all lands in the inalienable territory now occupied by farmers, on leases, on condition that the Griquas pay for such improvements on these lands, under certain arrangements, but with which arrangements, as they now exist, the Griquas are dissatisfied, and probably not without reason. As to the "*alienable territory*," the treaty states that the Griquas are to receive the £300 per annum for "places," *i.e.*, farms *held on lease for forty years*. But the Government instead of claiming *these* farms only, *claims at once the whole district*, including many farms, say one hundred and fifty out of three hundred, which the people had either not let at all, or let only for shorter periods, as five, ten, or twenty years. Thus the Griqua proprietors are deprived at once of all further interest in that property, against all equity, as well as against their own consent. They are not allowed to let the farms on which no leases had been taken, nor to have the benefit of the period between the short leases and the whole term of forty years. Altogether there are upwards of three hundred farms, or places, having fountains, of which the Griquas are thus despoiled. Nor is this all; for in the country defined as *inalienable*, the Boers already have about one hundred farms, held on leases of different terms from the Griquas, but the quit-rent of which the farmers now pay to the British Government, of whom they of course hold their leases.

The farms in the inalienable territory the Griquas are to recover when the leases expire, on payment, by valuation to be made immediately after the signing the treaty, of the buildings, &c., erected on the farms by the tenants, a

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measure which they will not be able to accomplish without extreme difficulty, but to which I earnestly recommended their immediate and continual attention. I advised them to form a committee among themselves for that specific object. They have promised to adopt my suggestion of having two councils or boards constituted; one as a municipal council, to attend to the interests of the town itself, and the other for the "*places*," or country hired out, and to devise and effect the best means in their power *to recover the farms within the inalienable territory.*

As the Governor no doubt intended this latter treaty, of 1848, to be a final arrangement, he possibly designed to include *all* the lands in the alienable territory, *whatever might be the terms of leases granted on it: but his treaty does not say so;* it limits his arrangements to the forty-years leases, and thus gives the prople a ground of appeal, which they have made, and to which his reply is, "that he intends the arrangement to be final!" It is done with the sword of the soldier—but there is in it manifest injustice. As to the subsidy or compensation of £300 a-year, that does not alter the essential nature of the case; £200 of that is given to the chieftain, who had no power to dispose of the lands of his people, and the other £100 is said to be for them; an amount which they neither ask for, nor accept.

Finding that no appeal to the Governor could avail to obtain for the people such a revision of these measures as would secure to them justice, that is to say, a fair compensation for the property of which they are deprived—to say nothing of the arbitrary and undignified manner of obtaining the signatures to the treaty by intimidation, not befitting the "Representative and High Commissioner of Her Britannic Majesty"—I deemed it right to address the Right Honourable Earl Grey on the subject, as Secretary of State for the Colonies. I wrote to his Lordship both from the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius, the latter containing a somewhat more complete view of the case than the former. These were transmitted to his Lordship from the Mission

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House, London, through Sir Edward N. Buxton, and by his Lordship copies were sent to Sir Harry Smith.

It may involve a little repetition to insert these letters, but it may also tend to make the business still more intelligible; and it seems the more expedient to do so, as I shall have occasion to offer some remarks on the reply of Sir H. Smith to Lord Grey. My own letters, and the reply from the Governor, are inserted in the Blue Book laid before the House of Commons, May 1851, entitled Papers on the Sovereignty between the Vaal and the Orange Rivers; and these three letters I now proceed to place before the reader.

[No. I. Copy.]

Letter from Rev. J. J. Freeman, addressed to Right Honourable Earl Grey, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. &c.

"*Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope,*
"*May 20th*, 1850.

"My Lord,—

"I reached Cape Town from England about fifteen months ago, as a Deputation from the Directors of the London Missionary Society, for the purpose of visiting all their stations in South Africa. I have just completed my tour of observation through the colony, British Kaffraria, part of Tambookieland, the Griqua and Bechuana countries, and a considerable portion of the British Sovereignty north of Orange River. I have also visited the Basuto country, and the Natal district. I am about to visit Mauritius on my return home, and hope to reach England about November next.

"I would defer my communication to your Lordship till my return, but that I might thus possibly be too late to accomplish the object at which I aim.

"My immediate business has been, as your Lordship will have perceived from the foregoing remark, in connection with the Missionary Institutions of the colony and the border tribes; but in pursuing that object, it has been impossible not to observe the social condition of the people, and the influence of the political measures adopted by

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the British Government in relation to them, on that social condition. Hence, if in noticing these political relations, I am suspected of stepping out of my *direct* line, I must plead the fact, that both the religious and social condition and advancement of the people are most deeply affected by the political arrangements to which I allude.

"I have seen, my Lord, that certain measures have been adopted in relation to the border tribes of this colony (I speak now especially of Griquas and Basutos), that involve, in my judgment, many things that are essentially unjust — in violation of previous treaties — at variance with instructions from your Lordship's predecessors in office —injurious to the cause of Christian Missions, and ultimately to the peace and well-being of the colony.

"At the present moment my aim therefore is to ask your Lordship, if it be not too late to do so, to suspend final decision regarding the Sovereignty north of the Orange River, and the policy of Sir H. Smith, so far as the border tribes are affected by the Sovereignty, until further information is placed before your Lordship.

"Permit me to express my conviction, my Lord, after having seen and conversed with the chiefs and people, that the general aim of his Excellency in proclaiming a Sovereignty is most valuable. The scheme of a Sovereignty is good; the scheme, that is, of making the British power supreme, of preventing the further irregular intrusion of the Boers on the territories of the natives, and checking the mutual wars of the natives themselves. All this is of great value to the colony, to the Boers, and the native tribes. But I am bound to say that, in the details and the working out of that scheme, many things require immediate correction, especially the virtual repeal by Sir H. Smith of the first article in the treaty of Sir P. Maitland with the chieftain Adam Kok, of 5th February, 1846, the forcibly depriving the natives of so much land in defiance of that whole treaty, although confirmed by Her Majesty, and the severing also of so much territory from the Basutos for the sake of the Boers.

"I am certain that, by these measures, we are committing great injustice, fixing a stigma on the British name, and creating a greater number of dissatisfied borderers, and a more inveterate hatred of the English name and Government than ever.

"The natives, my Lord, have been deprived of large portions of

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rritory, not of waste and unoccupied land, but of occupied and cultivated land; deprived of it in defiance of their entreaties and remonstrances, and in opposition to treaties made and confirmed, as already eferred to; and which territory the native chiefs have been forced to urrender to the British Government, although having no right to part with it, and for which no adequate compensation is made.

"These remarks, my Lord, apply most particularly to the Basutos country under Moshesh, and to the Griqua country under Adam Kok.

"My earnest prayer is, that before the affairs of these countries, as now arranged by Sir H. Smith, are finally confirmed by your Lordship, there may be a special Commission of Inquiry appointed, that the voice of the people may be patiently heard, and their just claims met so far as possible; and I venture to believe, my Lord, that this can be done without disturbing the general policy of Sir H. Smith.

"These are the main points to which, from their urgency, I venture to solicit your Lordship's attention.

"On my return to England, there are two or three other points on which I am desirous of offering some observations, with your Lordship's permission. I refer to the case of the native tribes beyond the Sovereignty, which are now reduced to vassalage, or being destroyed by the emigrant Boers—the preservation of native tribes now settling in Natal—and the causes and conduct of the late Kaffir war. Possibly these might be matter of inquiry for the Commission.

"My present object, however, relates mainly to the claims of the Basutos and the Griquas.

"I hold that it is certain, my Lord, the aboriginal races of South Africa need not be crushed down, nor deprived of their lands, nor exterminated, if only justice and benevolence characterize the treatment they receive at the hands of the British Government.

"I have, &c.,

"Right Hon. Earl Grey, "JOS. J. FREEMAN.

"&c. &c. &c.

"P.S. Any reply your Lordship may be pleased to favour me with, may be forwarded to the care of the Rev. Dr. Tidman, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, London."

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[No. II. Copy.]

To the Right Hon. Earl Grey, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. &c.

"*Port Louis, Mauritius, August* 20, 1850.

"My Lord,—

"I beg most respectfully to refer your Lordship to my letter dated 'Cape Town, 20th May 1850.'

"As I may possibly not reach England quite so early as I intimated in that letter, I have thought it necessary to convey to your Lordship, without further delay, some additional details of the case as it respects the Griquas and the Basutos, on whose behalf I ventured to submit to your Lordship the advisableness of 'inquiry' prior to any final confirmation of the measures of his Excellency Sir Harry Smith, Governor of the Cape, in relation to the 'Sovereignty north of the Orange River,' and the 'border tribes.'

"The case regarding the Griquas is, in brief, this: Sir Peregrine Maitland, late Governor of the Cape, aware of difficulties arising out of the settlement of Boers (or Dutch farmers) in Griqua territory, while still British subjects, drew, with the consent of the Griqua Government, a line of demarcation, separating the Griqua country into two divisions, one of which should be regarded as 'alienable,' and the other as 'inalienable.'* But the paramount right of the Griquas over the whole territory was distinctly stated in the treaty, and that treaty was confirmed by the Imperial Government. In the former division, the alienable, the Boers were permitted to take leases of the Griqua proprietors for any term not exceeding 'forty years;' but from the latter division, namely the 'inalienable,' they (the Boers) were to regard themselves as excluded.

"Subsequently, however, Sir Harry Smith, without any violation of the treaty on the part of the Griquas, and while these people were still our friends and faithful allies, and solely with the view of conciliating the Dutch farmers who had settled there, has alienated for ever from the Griquas that first division of their country. He has

* The Dutch terms are, "huurbaar" and "onhuurbaar," literally —leaseable and unleaseable.—J. J. F.

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affirmed and proclaimed that he should regard the whole of that division, for whatever term actually leased or not leased at all by the Griquas, as being virtually leased for forty years; and that the whole of this should at once be taken from the Griquas, and constituted part and parcel of the British Sovereignty, to the exclusion of all right and claim on the part of the Griquas,—so that the farmers should hold their farms of the British Government, to whom they should be required to pay a quit-rent.

"To this measure the Griquas most urgently and solemnly demur. They deem it unjust that they should be deprived of their lands without their consent, without having given any cause of offence, and also without adequate remuneration. They were *bonâ fide* proprietors of their farms. The alienable territory alone contained about three hundred farms. About half that number had been leased to Dutch farmers for forty years, and the other half was either not leased at all or for various periods less than forty years.

"Sir Harry Smith's arrangements interfere with all the rights of private property. The chieftain, Adam Kok, had no power to dispose of the lands of his people, it being property distinctly held by his subjects, and whose rights were as clearly recognized as in any civilized country. The Griqua right in the soil, as individuals, was also recognized by the Dutch farmers, in taking leases for terms of years of the Griqua proprietors.

"Sir Harry Smith forced by intimidation the Government of Adam Kok to sign the treaty that deprives them of the said alienable territory; but they appeal to the honour of Her Majesty's Government against that intimidation, and the treaty so forced out of them in defiance of all right and remonstrance.

"The Griquas are not unwilling to part with that portion of their territory denominated 'alienable,' under equitable arrangements; but they consider themselves entitled to the right of leasing out for forty years all that portion of the territory which had not been let for that term, and also of leasing out such other farms as were let on leases of less than forty years, for such periods still as would make them equivalent to forty-year leases.

"This claim I beg to submit to your Lordship as most reasonable and just.

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"With regard to the inalienable territory, Sir Harry Smith has decided, that the farmers who hold farms there shall absolutely quit them at the expiration of the leases respectively, on the Griquas paying them the value of buildings, &c., erected on them, as per estimate, agreed to be made from the time of the treaty, January 1848.

"It is true that the chieftain, Adam Kok, not only consented to an arrangement as to repayment for buildings, &c., but even originated the idea, as stated at the foot of the treaty, January 1848, and which proves the fairness and friendliness of the Griquas; but in the actual working out of this arrangement the Griquas have much to complain of. With the details of their complaints on this head I am unwilling to trouble your Lordship; but I submit that it will be only an act of common justice to hear and examine the complaints, in the event of any Commission of Inquiry being appointed.

"Sir Harry Smith has granted to the Griquas £300 per annum, in lieu of all their claims on the land of which he has deprived them; that is to say, £200 is granted to the chieftain, Adam Kok, and £100 to be divided among the proprietors of all those farms held by the Boers.

"But with this arrangement they are dissatisfied; for, although at the time of making that grant they might not be receiving so large an amount from the farms annually (and this is his Excellency's plea in justification of his measures), it must be recollected that the Griquas had let their farms on the payment of a stipulated sum, paid at once, and not by an annual rental. As the leases expired, they would have also let at an improved rental, and the other farms, which were not yet let, would also have let to advantage. Of this advantage the Griquas are wholly deprived; so that, in fact, they are impoverished, and not improved by the bargain Sir H. Smith has made. The £100 which his Excellency proposed should be divided among them, say about 5*s*. per head to each proprietor of a valuable farm, they disdain to touch, as being utterly unworthy of their acceptance, and as seeming to imply their acquiescence in so unjust a compromise of the matter in dispute.

"The Griquas have repeatedly written to Sir Harry Smith to convey their remonstrances, but in vain. His Excellency regards the matter as finally settled; and as they can obtain no redress in that quarter, they have earnestly solicited me to bring the subject under the attention of Her Majesty's Government at home. I conversed with Sir

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H. Smith on these affairs, when lately at the Cape; but finding that he regards his measures as final and unalterable, I have no alternative but to place them under the notice of your Lordship, persuaded, as I am, that the case involves a serious violation of the first principles of jústice.

"The case of the Basutos is briefly this:—

"In the year 1843, the colonial Government of the Cape obtained boundary lines between the native tribes, under Moshesh, Molitsana, Sikonyella, and others, on the one hand, and the British territory on the other. Moshesh, the paramount chief, was satisfied with the boundary line, so far as it affected his relations with the colony; so far as some of the lines affected his relations with other chiefs, he was not so satisfied; but that does not affect his remonstrances in relation to his own boundary line, as now changed by his Excellency Sir Harry Smith.

"On the request of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Moshesh, subsequently to the arrangement of 1843, gave up an additional piece of his territory for the accommodation of British subjects, and to express the sincerity of his friendship and good-will towards the British Government.

"But by a new arrangement of October 1849, insisted on by Sir H. Smith, Moshesh is deprived of a large and valuable section of his territory, although occupied by his subjects to the number of 3000 or 4000 at least, and who inhabit some sixty or eighty villages. And this section of the country, acknowledged by the treaty of 1843 to belong to Moshesh without dispute, is taken from him to conciliate and accommodate a small number of Dutch farmers whom Moshesh had generously permitted to reside for a time in his territóry, but with the distinct understanding that they had no claim upon the land. Moshesh has been compelled to sign a treaty or agreement accepting of this new arrangement, by measures that reflect no honour on the British name. Some old feuds subsisted between Moshesh and Sikonyella. Sir Harry Smith interposed his authority, and most humanely, as I think, insisted on both and all parties abstaining from mutual war, and referring their disputes to him. Major Warden, Resident at Bloem Fontein, summoned a meeting of chiefs to adjust their mutual difference, and promised a 'safe conduct' during their coming and returning, and severely threatened to punish all disturbers

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of the peace. Sikonyella, however, attacked the country of Moshesh, plundered much property, and destroyed much life. The latter appealed to Major Warden, and was then told, that if he would sign the new arrangement (which deprives him of so much of his country), measures should be employed to withdraw the invaders. To save his country from further devastation, and his people from murder, he signed the document, but protests against this flagrant breach of faith on the part of the English, this violation of the treaty of 1843, and this wholesale robbery of his country.

Moshesh, who has been our most faithful ally ever since our first connexion with him, can obtain no redress either from the Resident, Major Warden, or from Sir H. G. Smith. At his urgent solicitation, I therefore bring his case under your Lordship's attention. I have stated as briefly as possible the broad facts of the case, and I am certain they could be substantiated on the spot, should your Lordship judge it expedient to appoint a Commission of Inquiry and Arrangement.

"These measures of Sir Harry Smith in reference to the Basutos are, I think, to be deprecated for the following reasons:—

"1. They are essentially and radically unjust. They involve, in plain terms, the robbery of a large section of country belonging to a friendly, deserving, but defenceless people.*

"2. They are ungenerous and cruel. The Basutos have been our faithful allies, whether in relation to Kaffir wars or the rebellion of the Boers. Facts much to the honour of Moshesh and his people have been communicated to Her Majesty's Government by Sir H. Smith and his predecessors, and are already published in papers relating to South Africa, and laid before the House of Commons.

"3. They are impolitic. The colony of the Cape requires on its borders (whether the feeling of the Kaffirs or the Boers be contemplated) decided and warm-hearted allies. The measures of Sir H. Smith have not only rendered the Basutos cold and suspicious,—

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* Sir H. Smith assured me, in reply to this charge, that the Basutos had territory enough, without the section taken from them. This is not true in fact, and though it were, it is not a justification of our measures—J. J. F.

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they have irritated, goaded, and maddened them with vexation and disgust.

"4. They are unnecessary. The farmers might have been remedied and provided for elsewhere; or, if permitted to remain, a small portion of country could have been obtained for them from these very Basutos, by treaty and amicable arrangement, including fair compensation. (This same remark applies to the case of the Griquas; the territory which we really required we could have obtained without violence, violation of treaty, and injustice.)

"It is not too late to do justice, and to satisfy the fair claims of these injured tribes.

"The annexed outline of a map will show the extent of land taken from the Basutos. I submit, that the original boundary line of 1843 should yet be adhered to. Farmers who might be removed, by restoring the land to Moshesh, could be provided for abundantly in the yet unoccupied portion of the British Sovereignty, in the neighbourhood of Harrismith, where the land is excellent and a population required.

"I have, &c.,

"JOS. JOHN FREEMAN.

"*London Missionary Society,*
"*Blomfield-street, Finsbury, London.*"

The following is a copy of a letter from Sir H. Smith, addressed to Earl Grey, in reply to my letter of 20th May, 1850, forwarded to him by his Lordship, 4th September. I presume that, when His Excellency forwarded this reply, he had not received my letter dated 20th August, 1850, and which was sent to him by Earl Grey on the 28th of November.

[No. III. Copy.]

Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir H. G. Smith to Earl Grey.

"*King William's Town, Kaffraria,*
"*January* 20, 1851.

"My Lord,— (Received March 13, 1851.)

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch, No. 516, of the 4th September last, transmitting the copy of a letter addressed to you by the Rev. J. Freeman, Secretary to the

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London Missionary Society, containing strictures upon my procedure in having proclaimed the Sovereignty of Her Majesty beyond the Orange River and up to the Vaal. My continued movements in British Kaffraria have prevented me from forwarding an early reply.

"2. Mr. Freeman admits the general soundness of the policy pursued, but objects to the manner in which it has been carried out. Judging of this gentleman by his proceedings while travelling in this colony, I may here remark that, like all prejudiced men, he seeks for evidence to strengthen his own preconceptions, and loses sight of the general bearing and view of the subjects upon which he has so freely commented. For this he has been severely criticised by the frontier press.

"3. Upon my arrival at Bloem Fontein, in the beginning of 1848, I found that much ill-will existed between the Boers and the Griquas, with reference to a subject brought previously before your Lordship, that of the leases of forty years, upon which tenure the former held their lands from the latter in the 'inalienable' part of the country. Your Lordship is aware that, by Sir P. Maitland's treaty with Adam Kok, confirmed by Her Majesty, the territory occupied by that chief was divided into two portions, the 'alienable' and 'inalienable.'

"4. I must here assure your Lordship, that Captain Adam Kok and his followers are mere squatters, and have no more hereditary right to the country in question than the Boers themselves, who have been in the habit, for many years, for the sake of pasturage, of driving their herds and flocks over the Orange River.

"5. After mature deliberation, and having consulted with Adam Kok, with the Boers, and with all the native chiefs, I proclaimed Her Majesty's sovereignty, in order to establish a paramount authority in this debatable territory. In this measure, the great principle by which I was guided was, that all the inhabitants, white and coloured, should continue in possession of the farms and the territory occupied by them at the date of my proclamation; but as serious disputes had constantly arisen with respect to boundaries, I determined, by the voice of general acclamation, to establish defined limits, and so put an end to these continual and pernicious quarrels. In carrying this into effect, it was unavoidably necessary, in consequence of the Dutch and the natives being much intermixed, to displace occasionally

the inhabitants contiguous to the border, and cause them to retire to their own side of it. In some instances the Boers, in others the natives, were obliged to give way; but Mr. Freeman's general assertion, that a quantity of territory was taken from the latter for the sake of the former, is quite unfounded. Captain Adam Kok's territory was preserved to him as it then stood, as regards both the 'alienable' and 'inalienable' portions. I never interfered with the latter in the most remote degree. The chief himself suggested, that after the expiration of the forty-years leases in his 'inalienable' territory, the Boers might purchase from his people a future right, upon the conditions set forth in my additional treaty transmitted to your Lordship. This was Adam Kok's own proposal, and as it met the wishes of the Boers, who were most desirous to possess their farms in perpetuity, it was agreed to, on the understanding that £300 a-year should be paid by Government to the Griqua chief. This arrangement was regarded at the moment by all parties as most satisfactory: and was certainly advantageous to Adam Kok, inasmuch as, by his treaty with Sir Peregrine Maitland, he was merely entitled to a portion of the quit-rents collected; his share amounting (as far as my memory serves me, for I have no document here to refer to) to about £60 for one half year, and £70 for another similar period. He drew, in addition, and still draws, £100 per annum from the Colonial Government, and is thus in receipt of £400 per annum. I am not aware that the infringement of a treaty, mutually agreed to by the parties concerned, and conferring a benefit upon each of them, can be regarded as objectionable, and in this case, the advantage was mutual to the Griqua as well as to the Boer. Adam Kok was at the time perfectly satisfied with the arrangement, and continued to be so until some months afterwards, when his Missionary, as I am informed, told him that I had infringed the treaty; failing, however, to point out at the same time the advantages which he derived in consequence. He subsequently dismissed his councillor and Secretary, Hendrik Hendriks, because he was favourable to the procedure in question, and likewise advocated the wish of the Boers to purchase a right in perpetuity from the people in the 'inalienable' territory. The Boers recently arranged with the Griqua people for the purchase of a piece of land for the site of a church, but to this Adam Kok also objected.

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"6. When society consists of the heterogenous elements of which it is composed beyond the Orange River, and when opposite interests prefer conflicting claims, that course is the best which contributes most to the general good. The great principle which guided me was, as I have already stated, not to disturb, but clearly to define the existing occupation; and my arrangement has consequently improved the condition of all. With regard to Moshesh, that chief has been deprived of no part of his territory; its limits have merely been established, a measure tending as much to his own protection as to that of others. Mr. Freeman is in error when he asserts that injustice attaches to any part of my procedure. He admits the general principle to be advantageous and correct.

"7. I cannot refrain, my Lord, from adding, that if reverend gentlemen in the position of Mr. Freeman would take a comprehensive and not a contracted and prejudiced view of matters affecting the objects of their Mission, a greater degree of benefit would arise to the parties whom their laudable exertions are intended to civilize.

"8. With reference to the last paragraph of Mr. Freeman's letter to your Lordship, I would beg to observe, that the principle there set forth is that by which I have for years been actuated in my intercourse with native races. The recent conduct of these incorrigible savages, the Gaika Kaffirs, may serve to demonstrate how far Mr. Freeman and myself have been correct in our views. No one, I imagine, will be prepared to assert, that since our occupation of British Kaffraria, the greatest kindness and justice have not marked our treatment of the Kaffirs. Scarcely, however, had they emerged from the evils and horrors of the last war, when they commenced in the most treacherous and cunning manner to prepare again for hostilities, which they have now entered upon, accompanied by acts which the most merciless and irreclaimable savages alone could perpetrate.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "H. G. SMITH.

"The Right Hon. Earl Grey,

" &c. &c. &c."

The passages contained in the above letters, respecting the *Basuto* country and its chieftain, *Moshesh*, anticipate

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my observations respecting them, and may be referred to after reading the chapter entitled "The Basuto Country."

I left the Griqua Country, not with feelings of *unmixed* satisfaction and confidence, but yet more impressed in favour of the people than I had expected to be. I think that some observations to their disadvantage, not unfrequently made respecting them, are not without foundation; they would be improved by a larger infusion of energy, industry, simplicity, and humility. Perhaps they will be benefited by the admixture among them of the class called apprentices—men who were formerly slaves within the colony, or the descendants of such, and who have been trained by severe discipline to habits of activity. These bring a considerable amount of intelligence with them, and seem likely to become the most influential portion of the community. Some are already possessed of considerable property, and being sober and industrious men, they will acquire still larger property; and I think it not unlikely that they will become the principal landholders in the independent territory, and the chief means of resisting the further encroachments of Europeans and colonists in that direction.

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CHAPTER XII.

BECHUANA COUNTRY AND BECHUANA MISSIONS.

DANIEL'S KUIL—KURUMAN FOUNTAIN—REV. R. MOFFAT—VILLAGE—MISSION PREMISES—GARDENS—CHAPEL—MURDERS—CHILDREN STOLEN—DANGERS TO THE ABORIGINES—PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT—HAMHANA—MISSION COMMITTEE—TRANSLATIONS—NATIVE TEACHERS—LAY HELP—ROUTE TO KOLOBENG—MOTITO—MIGRATORY HABITS—SITLAGOLE—SUPERSTITION—DRESS—DESERT COUNTRY—MATEBE—CONGREGATION—MATZILIKATZE—SOUTH AFRICAN WARS—WHOLESALE MURDER—MABOTSA—THE CHIEF MOSELELE—KHOODOO—SERPENT WORSHIP—ENORMOUS BOA-CONSTRICTOR—KOLOBENG—SECHELE.

After taking leave of Mr. Read, now on his return to Kat River, by way of Ramah and Philippolis, I set out from Griqua Town for the Kuruman and the further interior. Mr. Solomon and Mr. Hughes accompanied me, and the rather, as it had been arranged that the Trans-Orange River Mission Committee, of which they were members, should meet at Kuruman at the time of my visit, thus affording us the opportunity of mutual counsel and deliberation. We bivouacked the first night at a place called, from the quantity of mimosas growing there, "the Thorns." The next day we reached the out-station, called "Daniel's Kuil," or den, an opening of small dimensions in a limestone rock. The people have here a small building that serves for a chapel and school-room. Here is a good spring, and about forty or fifty families might find a sufficient supply of water. Waterboer purchased the

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spot of Berends some few years ago, and the Missionary Society, through Mr. Wright, purchased a portion of it for two hundred rix dollars—£15, for the uses of a native teacher.

The second day after this, we reached, before midday, the Kuruman fountain, pouring forth a noble stream of water, and which is then conveyed by a water-course to Kuruman, about two miles distant. Here we met a man called Aaron, formerly a slave, but who, by his well-known integrity and industry, was able to borrow money, and redeem himself out of slavery. By the same means he subsequently paid the whole debt; that is, he purchased himself, and paid, honestly paid the ransom price, and he has now a comfortable residence, and a good piece of cultivated land.

We reached the Mission village of Kuruman about midday, and found Mr. and Mrs. Moffat ready to give us a cordial welcome. They had only one member of their family at home, who has since then become Mrs. Fredoux, of Motito. Mr. Fredoux is a Missionary from the Paris Missionary Society. We found that Mr. Helmore, of Lekatlong, a man of much excellence and amiability, had arrived, but that neither of the other Missionaries was expected. Dr. Livingston was too far distant, and had lately been much from home. His cattle also were all exhausted with the journey to the Lake. Messrs. Edwards and Inglis did not come, and Mr. Ross was unable to leave home. The members of the Mission Committee present, were, therefore, Messrs. Moffat, Hamilton, and Ashton, all of Kuruman, with Messrs. Helmore, Solomon and Hughes.

The village has a very pleasing appearance. The Mission premises, with the walled gardens opposite to them, form a wide and long street. The chapel is an excellent stone building, and does the Missionaries great credit. It will last many years to come. Mr. Moffat's house is near it, on one side: a pleasant residence, such as I could wish every Missionary enjoyed;—not destitute of comforts, nor

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adorned for show. Mr. Hamilton's residence, on the other side of the chapel, is now occupied by Mr. Ashton; and Mr. Hamilton, who is extremely feeble, occupies a small cottage on Mr. Moffat's premises, and finds, in the maternal care of Mrs. Moffat, a solace in his declining days. I found him in a calm and happy state of mind. He regards his work as done, and he is "waiting with his loins girded" for the summons that shall call him to his rest.

The gardens are well stocked with fruit trees,—apricots, peaches, pomegranates, apples, vines, &c., and with various kinds of vegetables. These require a large supply of water, and the fountain yields that supply. Thus some few comforts are obtained by the Mission families, not a little needed in these distant regions of South Africa.

On the Sunday which I spent there, the weather was most delightful. Soon after sunrise a bell rang for an early service. We breakfasted at seven. At half-past eight the schools commenced. The infant school, under Miss Moffat's care, met in the infant school-house, and several classes met in groups in the open air, round the chapel and school, and others within those buildings. All were busily engaged for above an hour, when public service commenced. The chapel is spacious, lofty and airy. Many of the people were decently and comfortably dressed, and the whole aspect of the congregation was encouraging: a striking proof of the practical value of continued Christian effort among a people. School was again held, and public service at half-past two; the congregations were good throughout the day.

On one side of the chapel, and near the door, sat a man, a stout, elderly, and intelligent looking man, who, with a few attendants, had come from a long distance, say two hundred miles east of Lekatlong, on a visit to Mr. Moffat, and to state the difficult circumstances in which the people of his district were being placed. He related, that some time since, a party of armed Boers came and demanded of the chief the *orphans* who might be there. The people

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affirmed that they had none who were friendless and destitute, since all orphans were taken care of by some of the friends and relatives of the deceased parents. After much altercation, and the steady refusal of the chief to give up the orphans, *the Boers demanded the children of the people.* The mothers ran to hide their children; the Boers began to seize them and put them in their wagons; the men interfered; the Boers fired, and in the result most of the men were killed defending their families, and the wagons were loaded with the children and driven off as booty! Against such outrages there seems no relief. The natives cannot withstand the power and fire-arms of the Boers; and the latter are too far away, too numerous, and too scattered, to respect the remonstrances of the British Government, even supposing the latter in earnest in checking such unjust and cruel proceedings. But by such proceedings, many of the aboriginal tribes of South Africa, in all these extensive regions which have been taken forcible possession of by the Boers, are diminishing, being in the first instance reduced to slavery, and must ultimately perish, unless timely aid be afforded. The natives become hemmed in; they are surrounded by Boers; their lands get occupied by strangers; they are compelled to submit to new and oppressive laws; aggressions are made, retaliations arise, and at last the natives are cut off. It is often impossible to define the exact limits within which such things are done, or the parties by whom they are committed. But the territory is large, very large, and the tribes are numerous, where these melancholy events are transpiring. It might be worth the exercise of all the wisdom and humanity of the British Parliament to find some remedy. But at present it appears to me, that the prospects of the coloured races of South Africa, taken on the broadest scale, are such as Christian philanthropy may weep over. I see no prospect of their preservation for any very lengthened period. The struggle may last for a considerable time. Missionary effort may not only save

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many of the souls of men, but help to defer the evil day of annihilation, as to many of the aboriginal tribes; but that annihilation is steadily advancing, and nothing can arrest it *without an entire change in the system of Government, wherever British subjects come in contact with the native tribes.* To act in all cases on the broad principles of justice, "to do unto others as we would they should do unto us," might save them from ruin. But *that* supposes not only *law* in their favour, but men everywhere appointed to execute law, who will courageously "defend the right," and seek out the cause of the "poor and fatherless," and "save the souls of the needy."

I visited, of course, the printing and bookbinding establishment at Kuruman. The printing-office is an excellent and appropriate building, and in good condition, and it appeared to me to be well managed. Mr. Moffat has had much to do, till lately, in printing all that has issued from the press. For the future, Mr. Ashton will take the superintendence of it, and Mr. Moffat devote his time and energy to the translation and revision of the Scriptures.

A second Sunday which I spent in this neighbourhood, I passed at the village of Hamhana, usually described in the Society's Report as an out-station among the Batlaros, about twelve miles from Kuruman.

A large number of the villagers had assembled near the chapel, many of them evidently in their heathen state, and making no profession of Christianity. I supposed that these would constitute the congregation, and that they were only waiting for our arrival. But to my surprise and gratification, on entering the chapel, I found it *already full*, and the native teacher holding some catechetical exercises. There must have been at least two hundred to two hundred and fifty natives present. Many of the rest from the outside squeezed in, and found room where there seemed no vacant space; others remained about the doors, and listened to the word of truth. It seems that not fewer than one hundred of the members of the church

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at Kuruman reside here. Before I left, one of the principal people, and who acts as native teacher, came, and expressed their desire to have a Missionary settled among them, and a better place of worship built. This latter point I had pressed on them in my address. My impression certainly was, that there were materials enough for the labour of a Missionary; and that, if one could be stationed there, the prospect of extensive usefulness was cheering; and that, without such a plan, there could be no great improvement effected, as the Missionaries at the Kuruman can do little for them, beyond a Sabbath-morning service, and an occasional visit, and the people require the *constant presence, influence, and efforts*, of a resident Missionary.

During my visit to Kuruman, we met frequently in committee, and amply discussed all the various points of business that came suitably under our consideration. These I need not relate here. They formed the basis of my communications with the Directors of the Missionary Society, and will tend, I think, to the comfort of the Missionaries, and the progress of the great work which they have in hand. One regulation was adopted, which I think will be beneficial,—namely, the separation of the Committee into two divisions, one embracing the Missionaries identified with the Bechuanas, and the other those identified with the Griquas. This will simplify the objects of their attention respectively, and save much undesirable expenditure of time in travelling, and the absence of the Missionaries from their stations.

Thus closed my visit to Kuruman. The congregation was rather smaller than on some other stations, but the field is important. It is the recognized home and centre of many families of Christian Bechuanas; it is an appropriate sphere altogether for Mr. Moffat, especially in relation to his department of translation—the translation of the Scriptures, with which a more extensive pastorate would be incompatible, even though he had the aid of other brother Missionaries. Kuruman is the high road to

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[illegible] and is a source of influence in numerous [illegible]. It must therefore, I think, be encouraged and [illegible] maintained. Mr. Ashton and Mr. Moffat co-operate cordially as fellow-labourers. In the course of [illegible] seven years it is likely that another Missionary will [illegible] required for the station. Mr. Hamilton is already past [illegible] and Mr Ashton will be required for the local [illegible] including the printing. Mr. Moffat's time may [illegible] advantageously directed to *translation*, and he [illegible] be exempted from the service of itinerating, which [illegible] a great outlay of time. Constant effort must also [illegible] expended in training youths, with the hope that some [illegible] may become native teachers. Of this latter class [illegible] are scarcely any at present, such as would meet the [illegible] views and expectations of the churches and Di-[illegible] few of general intelligence, combined [illegible] knowledge, possessing the art of reading [illegible] the power and skill to communicate [illegible] to others. I fear there is little [illegible] of theological students being found [illegible] in the churches to whom this [illegible]. There are young men in the [illegible] they are for the most part married, and [illegible] interests, and unwilling to give [illegible] work of teaching. They are neither in-[illegible] qualified to become [illegible] becoming native teachers [illegible] appears to me that the whole work [illegible] and carried on, with [illegible] *Intelligent lads* must be [illegible] up in general and [illegible] under the immediate [illegible] Missionary. The Mission pre-[illegible] be secluded not only [illegible] community, but from their [illegible] even though the [illegible] imbibe that love of a

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life amidst flocks and herds, by which all the natives seem animated. It may be important also to consider, as a means of aiding the evangelization of South Africa by native effort, whether some considerable *native assistance may not be found among the senior members of the churches*, men whose piety is tried and found stedfast, whose general intelligence and character may justify their being so employed, and on whom the Missionary may successfully employ some special effort, still further to qualify them for the service, although it may be impracticable to bring them under a regular course of tuition, such as might be contemplated for students. Such men have been sent forth by the churches in the South Sea Islands; such have been found in India; such are a few I have met with here in South Africa, and such an one was our martyred friend Paul, in Madagascar. These men may experience difficulty in learning to read, if their conversion takes place in adult age, and if they have then to commence the art of reading. But however imperfectly they may succeed, it may still be worth while to secure their services, and to employ them as far they can be made available. Teachers in the schools, or senior scholars in the schools, may read for them, where they fail themselves in doing it. Their visits, their conversations, and their addresses, may all be extensively useful, even though unable to read fluently themselves. Their experience, their deportment, their piety, their simple statements, may all render great service in the cause, and they may prepare the way for others; just as in the islands of the South Seas, of which Mangaia forms so striking an illustration of the value and efficiency of these labourers.

The next stage of my journey was to Kolobeng, the station occupied by Dr. Livingstone, and at present the most northern of our stations in South Africa. I had received letters from Dr. Livingstone, pressing on me not to consider my visit completed, till I reached as far as Kolobeng; and having resolved on proceeding thither,

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arrangements were made for the purpose. I was glad I succeeded in prevailing on Mr. Moffat to accompany me. I knew that his doing so would render my journey not only the more agreeable, on account of his companionable qualities, but the more useful, from his familiar acquaintance with the people, and the value of his extensive influence. And happily, while he himself was nothing loath to meet my wishes, though involving an absence of some three months from his home, his excellent wife cheerfully assented to the arrangement, and admirably provided for our comfort with bread and meal, and preserved fruits, such as do not fall to the lot of every African traveller. Their daughter Ann was to accompany her father in his wagon, and though South Africa is not the most inviting country in the world for ladies to travel in, their society and their services are not the less acceptable to those of the harder sex who happen to be favoured with them.

We outspanned the first evening about seventeen miles from Kuruman, at Makkwarrin, and finished the rest of the journey to Motito the next day, being a stage of twenty-three miles further. This is a station in connexion with the Paris Missionary Society. There were formerly two of their Missionaries stationed here, Messrs. Lemue and Lauga. These have removed to Carmel, in the Basuto Country. The chapel holds about two hundred. About one hundred persons assembled at an early hour, to hear an address from us. I pressed on them the necessity of guarding against their restless habit of emigrating from place to place in quest of new localities. They get tired of a place without any specific reason, just as men get tired of objects they are familiar with. They then "trek," set out on a journey, taking their families, flocks, and herds with them, and wander about to great distances. In this way the village of Motito was almost abandoned. Four small kraals, or villages, constitute its range of population. Mr. Fredoux was expecting that the people

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who had emigrated from Motito would return, not finding the new and unoccupied country which they anticipated. The Boers are before them, and the land is occupied. This immense emigration of the Boers, far beyond the colonial boundary, is evidently working out a great change in all the interior of South Africa, and it bears very gravely on the question of Missions among the native tribes. It places every measure in perplexity and difficulty, in connexion with the prosecution of Missions there. Tribe after tribe is swept away, and the labour of the Missionary is lost. By the time the Missionary may have succeeded in bringing the people under the influence of instruction, they are hemmed in by the Boers, their country and resources become more and more limited, they are driven to desperation, and then either emigrate, scatter themselves from one another, and are lost, or they quarrel with their invaders in self-defence, and are then attacked and vanquished by the superior arms and skill of the white man. Of this fatal process many instances are now occurring; and I again say, I fear there is great difficulty and greater unwillingness on the part of Great Britain, though really responsible for these things, in attempting anything like adequate interference.

With regard to Motito, my impression certainly was, that if it continued to have only its present scanty population, it would scarcely be worth while to maintain it as a principal station.

At the distance of about six days' journey from Motito, there are some populous settlements of natives, such as Sitlagole, of which Mochuana is chief. The people are Barolongs. Mr. Lemue was in the habit of itinerating there. But to visit them requires an absence of three weeks, two of which are expended in travelling there and back again, and one in remaining with them. At a station like Motito, where there is but one Missionary, this scheme cannot be effected without the neglect of the principal station. My visit to Motito strongly confirmed my idea

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that a Missionary planted alone among the heathen, especially an unmarried man, could do but little for the improvement of the population. He may teach a few children, and he may preach on the Sabbath, but the entire machinery of a resident Christian family is wanted, with all its social influences. The Missionary wife is required, for the sake of her influence, and example, and instruction, for the native women, among whom an unmarried Missionary can have no influence. I should suggest, that wherever a station is not sufficiently important to justify a Society in placing there two Missionaries, and at any rate one of them a married man, it should not be maintained, except as an out-station connected with some more important sphere.

From Motito we travelled forward to Sitlagole, in the country of the Barolongs. Nearly all the people wear the native kaross. A few have some articles of European clothing; the children have so little of either, that they could not have less. Mr. Moffat addressed them in the open air, from beneath, not a broad spreading English beech or oak, but a large mimosa, in an enclosure surrounded by a fence of dry thorns. About two hundred of the natives collected around, and sat on the ground and listened attentively. Their countenances are good, and indicate a capacity for intelligence. Some few of the villagers had learned to read the New Testament, and to use the Hymn Book in the Sichuana language. The Barolongs are a tribe of the Bechuana nation, and of course use the Sichuana language. The village occupies a considerable space of ground. Each family has its own enclosure, a circular fence of thorn sticks, and within that the hut, round and low, made of reeds, with a roof projecting some little distance beyond the props that support it. The natives seem rich in cattle, and cultivate, I understand, a good quantity of Indian corn. Their supply of water, which comes up through a bed of sandstone, is sufficient for domestic uses, but not for the irrigation of

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land. The name of the chief is Mochuana. I called, with Mr. Moffat, to see him. He is aged, blind, and very deaf. He is much respected, and has been a man of peace; and although not embracing Christianity himself, he has always respected and encouraged the Missionaries. He and his people are extremely superstitious on the subject of rain-making. But without adequate instruction how can it be otherwise? How can they hear except there be a preacher? How can truth reach them unless from without? They *cannot* deliver their *own* soul, nor say, "Is there not a lie in my right hand?" What glorious enterprises of humanity and mercy may the Christian church enter on, if in earnest!

An anecdote is related here in illustration of the superstition of the people in all matters pertaining to rain. It occurred some time ago, while the Rev. Mr. Lemue was residing here, that a *horse* died at the village, at a time when rain was much wanted. Mr. Lemue very properly had the carcase of the animal dragged away to a great distance, to avoid the evils arising from its putrefaction in so hot a climate. This act became a matter of great consultation, and it was decided in some way, that this dragging to a distance the remains of the dead horse, prevented the rain coming; and the chief above-named actually sent men, with leathern cords, to drag it again to the village, and there it was placed, at no great distance from Mr. Lemue's house, and left to decay! After that, I presume rain came, but how soon the deponent said not. The chieftain, I think, as a man of common sense, must have been a little ashamed of it, for he sent a message to Mr. Moffat, some time after, to assure him it was not *his* doing, but that of the people.

Several of the people in this part of the country, the women especially, have their hair dressed, or rather bedaubed and beplastered. with the glittering material, a kind of plumbago mixed with grease, of which Campbell, Moffat, and other travellers, have given an account. Of

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course it is fashion, and purely a matter of tast it has no charms, neither fragrance nor bea them, I presume, it has many. It struck m about as admirable a custom as that which till vailed in polished England itself, the custom the hair with "powder and pomatum;" the wh would seem appropriate to a white populatio black powder to a swarthy population,—at any so than the *reverse* in each case would be.

During a further portion of the journey, we thing worthy of notice for a whole day; we villages, fountains, streams, nor cultivated land gardens, flowers, nor fruits; neither man, no beast. There were a few shrubs, and some st of grass. A more indescribable, desolate, d uninteresting spot, cannot well be imagine devoid of materials for the poet, and little for sopher—*ex nihilo nihil fit.*

After halting for the night, we again start journey. Heavy rains had fallen during the nig morning was fresh and cool. Our cattle found to quench their thirst, in small natural hollo surface of the granite rock over which we we This seems to be all a granitic country. Usual is slightly covered with a small quantity of soil reddish sand, but for a large extent, it is the that forms the surface. We passed a fine block about fourteen feet high and four feet in thick spar predominates here. Much of the grani entirely of felspar and quartz. There is also schist.

We observed immense quantities of locusts distance from us, and large flights of the locus by which incredible numbers of these destruct are consumed.

We found all this immense tract of country, ingly interminable plain, absolutely and literal

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pied. Here is space enough for thousands, provided water could be found. In many places the soil is rich, in others it is shallow and poor; but if some stream or canal could be led out from the Vaal, thousands of acres of corn might be cultivated, and thousands of an impoverished population find subsistence. The Vaal River flows at about five days' journey on the right of the line of road I was now passing over. On our left there were no inhabitants. We were met there by the great Kallaharri desert, and in that dry and thirsty land no inhabitants are found. Our direction from the Kuruman had all along been north-east. We travelled about twenty miles daily, occupying eight hours in that limited transit!

It has sometimes struck me whether it might not be a great benefit to Africa, if England would purchase Delagoa Bay from the Portuguese, and their whole line of coast on the east of Africa, including Mosambique. It might also be made of great service to England. We should thus at once open a friendly communication with all the tribes in the interior of Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa. This communication might be extended to the Great Lake, lately discovered, and the tribes bordering on it. It would enable the British Government also to exercise its influence and control over the emigrant Boers, who are now spreading themselves so widely over these regions, and destroying so many native tribes. A vast field would thus be opened to enterprise, commerce, humanity, emigration, and direct Missionary effort.

We now crossed the Málopó, and halted for the night at about ten miles' distance from Raputse. We saw the landmarks (*baken*) set up by the Boers, north-east of the Málopó, as a sign of their claiming all the land within the limit—one step in the process of dispossessing the aborigines of their territory.

Next day Mr. Moffat and I separated for a short time. He proceeded direct to Kolobeng, and I arranged to take Matebé and Mabotsa on my way.

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About three miles beyond the point where we left other, I came to a hill, crossed the summit, and fir the descent of it sharp, stony, and difficult, I h there for the night, and knew, from the barking o village watch-dogs, I could be at no great distance Matebé. Next morning, Mr Inglis, our Missionary, up to our encampment, and I accompanied him ba his cottage. The village consists of about three hun huts. It has been but lately constructed, and is simil character to that of Sitlagole. Moiloi is the chiefta friendly, sensible, kind-hearted man. The populati the village is about fifteen hundred; viz., three hun men, six hundred women, and six hundred children. more than about twenty children attend the school does not appear that Christianity has yet obtained an fluence here. The chief, however, and many of his pe attend the public worship on the Sunday. There small class of young men, Hottentots and Bastaards, can read the Dutch Testament, and a few native wo read the Sichuana Testament, with some facility.

During the public services, I observed a few onl the people wearing European clothing. Nearly all clad in the native costumes—abundance of charms ornaments round the neck, beads, necklaces, armlets anklets—old skins, shaggy, ragged, and torn, over shoulders,—the hair plaited, twisted, greased and sprin with the black glittering powder of which they see fond—many from head to foot rubbed over with ochre—none washed—women with large fur caps or nets, and all handling jackal tails as fans, to sc the flies, so tempted and lured by the grease of adorning.

They listened attentively, and that is a point of portance gained. Not long since they were all noisy loquacious. And still many of their habits require little correction, and a preacher must not be trou with too much refinement of scent, or he may be gr

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annoyed and incommoded. We must bear patiently with human infirmities.

Moiloi is the chieftain residing here. He called on me immediately after my arrival, and I had opportunities of lengthened conversation with him. He accompanied Mr. Inglis and myself to the summit of the adjoining hill. We went to obtain a view of the surrounding country, and especially the range of hills on which Mr. Campbell found the town called Kurrecheene, which was the extreme point of his journey northward. That town has disappeared. The people were attacked and routed by the tribes of the Mantatees. They then settled near the Mosega, and were again driven from thence to their present residence by Matzilikatze, who for a long period spread devastation throughout all this region. His power was subsequently broken by the attack of other tribes from various quarters, and still further by the Boers, on whom he himself had previously made attacks. His present condition, as to numerical strength, I could not ascertain. He was still believed to be powerful, but not sufficiently so, to enable him to attack successfully the tribes around him. The Boers claim this country as theirs, including the Mosega, on the ground of having driven out the powerful and tyrannical Matzilikatse. But, even admitting that driving out a common enemy gives a right of occupation, the Boers cannot fairly claim it for themselves, to the exclusion of native tribes, who have had their full share in resisting, and ultimately overcoming this great scourge of South Africa. The African aboriginal tribes have long been in a state of perpetual warfare—an inter-tribal and most destructive warfare. The stronger have made successful wars on the weaker, and instead of the cultivation of the land, and the gradual advancement of the people in civilization, their soil has been saturated with human blood; their occupation has been rapine, devastation, and murder; thousands of women have been made widows, and their children orphans; property has been pillaged

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and towns destroyed. Within the last thirty or forty years, the great warriors have been Chaka and Dingaan among the Zooloos; Mantatee, queen of the [illegible]; Matzilikatse of the Matabeles; Makkaba of the [illegible]; to say nothing of the inferior warriors and petty ones, or the wars in the south among the Kaffirs. These wars among the tribes themselves, have been terminated for some time past, by the Boers coming in, and occupying the territory. Yet in this circumstance, again, there has been inflicted immense injustice and oppression on the one hand, with suffering, loss, and ruin, on the other. What the amount of actual suffering has been, no one can ascertain; no one is fully acquainted with the numbers and condition of the tribes that occupy the large extent of territory now possessed by the Boers; no one can ascertain how many of these have utterly perished, how many have migrated elsewhere, how many remain among the Boers, and voluntarily serve them, or how many have been reduced to slavery. It is, perhaps, questionable, whether the reports respecting the ravages said to have been committed by the Boers, have not been exaggerated; yet it cannot be doubted that they have committed very serious aggressions on the aborigines, have inflicted harsh and arbitrary punishments, and have taken not only immense quantities of cattle, but also large numbers of children, to be used as slaves in fact, although not so called. It is *confidently* reported that they have sold them to one another, at about one pound per head, and in default of cash, an equivalent has been given, a horse, a cow, or a few sheep. Possibly there may be some exaggeration in the account published three years ago in the letter of a "Traveller," in the "Commercial Advertiser," in which the Boers are said to have attacked a native tribe *and cut off* 4000 *of the people, and burnt to death in a cave some* who had escaped there, by means of dry fuel collected for the purpose, and with which the mouth of the cave was filled up. This

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port, it is thought, may have been exaggerated as to mbers, since no large tribe has lately existed that uld have offered so many victims. But I have been sured, on most credible testimony, that there is no ound to doubt the general truth of the statement; so at, granting it to be rather over-coloured, enough mains to awaken in us horror at such enormous cruel-es. One shudders at the very thought, that baptized ien, bearing the Christian name, could so transform nemselves into demons and monsters, as to perpetrate uch enormities. There is a God in heaven to avenge uch abominations—but is there no human arm that can nterpose to arrest them? Has Great Britain neither the power nor the right to interpose and restrain her own subjects from such deeds of violence? or, by crossing a boundary line, do men lose their responsibility and the Government its authority?

From Matebe I proceeded to Mabotsa, the station of our Missionary Mr. Edwards, formerly of Kuruman, and spent the Sunday afternoon and evening in attending the public services there. About 200 natives were present in the afternoon, and a few who live in the vicinity of the Mission premises met in the evening. These are of the tribe of Bakhatlis, and belong to the Bechuana nation.

There is great difficulty in addressing suitably a congregation of heathens, both in finding the right materials and the appropriate illustrations. There is so little in their minds to which we can address ourselves—no general knowledge to which any appeal can be made, or from which illustrations could be brought—no Biblical knowledge, to which an appeal in the way of authority might be impressively made. Our ideas of God, of sin, the soul, salvation, law, grace, the resurrection, or eternity, can find nothing in their thoughts or reasonings, if they reason at all, with which to harmonize. Hence so much of the preaching of the Missionary must be to them incomprehensible, and they wonder that so much pains

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are taken to make them understand what th
value, and to appreciate what they do not under

It does not appear that any conversions to
have yet taken place among these people.
little band united in the fellowship of the
members from other churches; excepting the
as though all remained in their heathen state
one cannot see them, and address them, an
with them, and hear their own shrewd remar
the conviction that they are, mentally, as
receiving Christianity as other men; that, if th
the "honest and good heart," the seed of the W
produce its fruit in them as well as others.
no indications of any want of mere intellectua
They have well-formed heads, intelligent cou
keen and penetrating eyes, with nothing vacan
sullen, or unimpressible, and yet they remain
reminding one of the affecting vision of the pr
valley "full of dry bones," till the Spirit of
breathed, and the slain lived.

Moselele, the high-spirited, but somewhat s
passionate young chieftain, was absent from
my arrival. He was at one of his cattle post
principal one of his six or seven wives called
me he had been sent for, and would soon rea
He came, and after some conversation promise
would summon his people to a public meetin
might have the opportunity of speaking to the
subject of education, &c. He asked me wh
women also should attend. I inquired of him w
did not consider that their women were *wise* w
if so, of course they should attend. Accordingl
a very large assembly of men, women, and childr
attendance of women on such occasions is qu
thing. They listened attentively and patiently
had to say; Mr. Edwards kindly interpreted for
there was no little interest in such a scene—all

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bitants of a village in the heart of
around two European teachers, tc
Christian education for the native (
school already established—the r
the open air, around a large tree
village, and contiguous to the ch
himself enforcing by urgent recor
children should attend the schoo
like irreclaimable savagism; only t
sive apathy, nonchalance, and levit

Considerable damage had been
gardens of the people by the *kho*
the size of a heifer or young cov
resolved on. It took place while
compliance with Mr. Edwards's
Moselele, the people all passed nea
that I might have the opportunity
mustered about 200 men; they
with spears and shields; a few had
intention was to surround the hil
gle of which these animals lurk.
succeed in doing so, the khoodoo
had got scent that a commando
prudently decamped, and ran off
the extremities of the two wings,
them. I requested the chief to b
of one of them, which he politely d

While at Mabotsa Mr. Inglis ca
that we might have as many opp
tion as possible during my stay
was amused with a little incident
occasion. Moselele, the chief, ca
gain with him for the purchase of
people have their fancy cows, hei
our more civilized Europeans have
dogs, and birds. He came to
said cow, but which was not reall

ties had been kept at all the stations,
comparative influence of heathenism
upon the population. At the same tir
habits of the people would throw coı
tainty over the records, unless kept with

Dr. Livingston states, that at Kolo
gamists have 193 children; and 121
children; that there are 18 polygamist
but having no children; and 39 mono
have no children; that, in taking a cen
there were found—

Men above fourteen years of age .	.
Women	.
Boys under fourteen	.
Girls	.

Of the 361 men, 2 have four wi
25 have three w
94 have two wi

121 Polygamists
157 Monogamist
83 Unmarried.

The chief, Sechele, has made an op
Christianity, and has been baptized. I
his attendance at public worship, and h
every evening. His appearance is prep
about thirty-five years old, tall and w
his complexion is dark, his countenanc
his manners easy and agreeable. His l
the same manner as the Malagasy; his
European. He is the husband of one wi

The people, with their chief Sechel
Chonuana, for the professed purpose o
teacher, and within reach of his instructic

For themselves they were not under
changing their location, as the supply o

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cient for their cattle and their
they do not use artificial irrigati
supply suffices. The chief him
anxious to be near Dr. Livingst
fiting by his instructions; and
desired this advantage also for his
in all these cases, that the nativ
by the hope that the Missionary
political service, and afford them
the intrusion of their troublesome r

When Sechele was a lad, an att
father's country by a chief from th
of Sebetoana. The invading party
many of those attacked were left slai
Sebetoana directed his people to fin
surviving members of the family of
take care of them, and to bring them
had fallen in battle, but the youth
and taken to Sebetoana; he was kindly
fully brought up.

After reaching maturity, Sebetoana on
"I made war on your father and subdue
no wish to make war on you; and now
choice: you may either remain with me, a
you with cattle and all that you need,
you may return, if you prefer it, to your o
we shall be on friendly terms with one ano
decided on the latter course, and has m
sional and friendly communications wit
enemy and his own preserver. This Se
chieftain of the people north of the ne
lake, and with whom he endeavoured in va
means of making some communications.

The Kuruman station, occupied by the
Moffat and his faithful coadjutors, was long t
post of Missions in South Africa. It was n
return from England that other enterprising l

moved forward to regions still more northward. Of
Dr. Livingston has been honoured to commence a
at Kolobeng, which is more than 200 miles N.E.
from Kuruman. This he did with the view of
the first opportunity of advancing to the more po
regions which were supposed to lie yet further north

In the month of July last, an opportunity was pre
to this enterprising Missionary of gratifying his lon
rished purpose, by the visit of two benevolent tra
Messrs. Murray and Oswell, who requested his co-
tion in attempting to cross the desert, and explori
unknown regions to the north. This overture Mr. L
ston gladly embraced, unintimidated by the hardsh
dangers of the undertaking; and, through the gr
providence of God, the effort has been crowned wi
tinguished success.

The point reached is upwards of 300 miles a
north-west of Kolobeng, and, consequently, little sh
600 miles from Kuruman; while the character
inhabitants appears to present both powerful clain
encouragements to future Missionary effort. But th
covery of large inland rivers running from the no
that hitherto *terra incognita*—seems to open a highw
the progress of the Gospel in the interior of Afri
which we trust our faithful Missionaries will be perr
shortly to enter.

At the time of my visit to Kolobeng, at the clo
1849, Dr. Livingston had lately returned from his
of which I found he had recently conveyed a graph
scription to the Rev. Dr. Tidman, dated from the
of the river Zouga, September 3, 1849, with a post
dated Kolobeng, October 14, which he had safely re
on his return on the 10th of that month. His let
Dr. Tidman contains the earliest and fullest accou
his tour, and of the discovery of the Lake Ngami
as follows:—

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Letter from the Rev. David Livingston, addressed to the Rev. Arthur Tidman, Foreign Secretary, London Missionary Society.

"*Banks of the River Zouga, 3rd September*, 1849.

"Dear Sir,—

"I left my station, Kolobeng, (situated 25° South lat., 26 East long.), on the 1st of June last, in order to carry into effect the intention, of which I had previously informed you, viz., to open a new field in the North, by penetrating the great obstacle to our progress, called the Desert, which, stretching away on our west, north-west, and north, has hitherto presented an insurmountable barrier to Europeans.

"A large party of Griquas, in about thirty wagons, made many and persevering efforts at two different points last year; but though inured to the climate, and stimulated by the prospect of much gain from the ivory they expected to procure, want of water compelled them to retreat.

"Two gentlemen, to whom I had communicated my intention of proceeding to the oft-reported Lake beyond the Desert, came from England for the express purpose of being present at the discovery, and to their liberal and zealous co-operation we are especially indebted for the success with which that and other objects have been accomplished. While waiting for their arrival, seven men came to me from the Batouana, a tribe living on the banks of the lake, with an earnest request from their chief for a visit. But the path by which they had come to Kolobeng was impracticable for wagons; so, declining their guidance, I selected the more circuitous route, by which the Bermangueato usually pass, and, having Bakwains for guides, their self-interest in our success was secured by my promising to carry any ivory they might procure for their chiefs in my wagon; and right faithfully they performed their task.

"When Sekhomi, the Bamanguato chief, became aware of our intention to pass into the regions beyond him, with true native inhumanity he sent men before us to drive away all the Bushmen and Bakalihari from our route, in order that, being deprived of their assistance in the search for water, we might, like the Griquas above mentioned, be compelled to return. This measure deprived me of the opportunity of holding the intercourse with these poor outcasts I might otherwise have enjoyed. But, through the good providence of God, after travelling about 300 miles from Kolobeng, we struck on a magnificent river on the 4th of July, and without further difficulty, in so far as water was concerned, by winding along its banks nearly

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300 miles more, we reached the Batavana, on the lake N
beginning of August.

"Previous to leaving this beautiful river on my retur
commencing our route across the Desert, I feel anxio
you with the impressions produced on my mind by it an
tants, the Bakoba or Bayeiye. They are a totally distin
the Bechuanas. They call themselves Bayeiye (or men)
term Bakoba (the name has somewhat of the meaning o
is applied to them by the Bechuanas. Their complexio
than that of the Bechuanas; and, of 300 words I collec
language, only 21 bear any resemblance to Sitchuana. T
along the rivers and lake in canoes hollowed out of th
single trees; take fish in nets made of a weed which abo
banks; and kill hippopotami with harpoons attached to
greatly admired the frank, manly bearing of these inl
Many of them spoke Sitchuana fluently, and, while the w
along the bank, I greatly enjoyed following the windi
river in one of their primitive craft, and visiting their lit
among the reed. The banks are beautiful beyond any w
seen, except perhaps some parts of the Clyde. They are c
general, with gigantic trees, some of them bearing fruit,
to us. Two of the Baobob variety measured 70 to 76 feet
ference. The higher we ascended the river, the broader
until we often saw more than 100 yards of clear deep wate
the broad belt of reed which grows in the shallower p
water was clear as crystal, and as we approached the poin
tion with other large rivers, *reported to exist* in the north, it
soft and cold. The fact that the Zouga is connected with l
coming from the north, awakens emotions in my mind, wh
the discovery of the lake dwindle out of sight. It opens
pect of a highway, capable of being quickly traversed by b
large section of well-peopled territory. The hopes which
pect inspires for the benighted inhabitants, might, if ut
forth the charge of enthusiasm—a charge, by the way,
deserved, for nothing good or great, either in law, religio
sical science, has ever been accomplished without it: how
not mean the romantic flighty variety, but that which im
untiring energy to the accomplishment of its object. I do
to convey hopes of speedily effecting any great work throu
instrumentality; but I hope to be permitted to work, so
live, beyond other men's line of things, and plant the s
Gospel where others have not planted; though every exc
that purpose will involve separation from my family for

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them. *They* could not have reached this point
ance; but, for the aid they have rendered in ope
feel greatly indebted; and, should any public not
journey, I shall feel obliged to the Directors if
thankfulness.

"The Bayeiye or Bakoba listened to the stateme
Divine Word with great attention, and, if I am not
to understand the message of mercy delivered,
people to whom I have preached for the *first* time.
variably a great many charms in the villages; sta
God in their language (without the least hesitation)
mentioned the name of the first man and woman, an
ary statements respecting the Flood. I shall not
these for certain, till I have more knowledge of
They are found dwelling among the reed all round th
the banks of all the rivers to the North.

"With the periodical flow of the rivers, great shoals
The people could give no reason for the rise of the
than that a chief, who lives in a part of the country
called Mazzekiva, kills a man annually, and throws his
stream, after which the water begins to flow. Wh
know Him who was slain, that whosoever will, might
water of life freely?

"The sketch, which I inclose (see p. 287), is intended
idea of the River Zouga and the Lake Ngami. The name
is pronounced as if written with the Spanish N, the *g* be
to show that the ringing sound is required. The meanin
Water." The latitude, taken by a sextant on which I c
pend, was 20° 20′ S. at the north-east extremity, where
by the Zouga; longitude, about 24° E. *We do not, howe*
with certainty. We left our wagon near the Batouana town
on horseback about six miles beyond, to the broad part. It
widens out into a frith about 15 miles across, as you go S
the town, and in the South-South-West presents a large
water. *It is reported* to be about 70 miles in length, bends
the North-West, and there receives another river similar to th
The Zouga runs to the North-East. The thorns were so
planted near the upper part of this river, that we left all our
standing about 180 miles from the lake, except that of Mr. O
which we travelled the remaining distance. But for this pre
our oxen would have been unable to return. I am now stan
a tribe of Bakurutse, and shall in a day or two re-enter the de

"The breadth marked is intended to show the difference b

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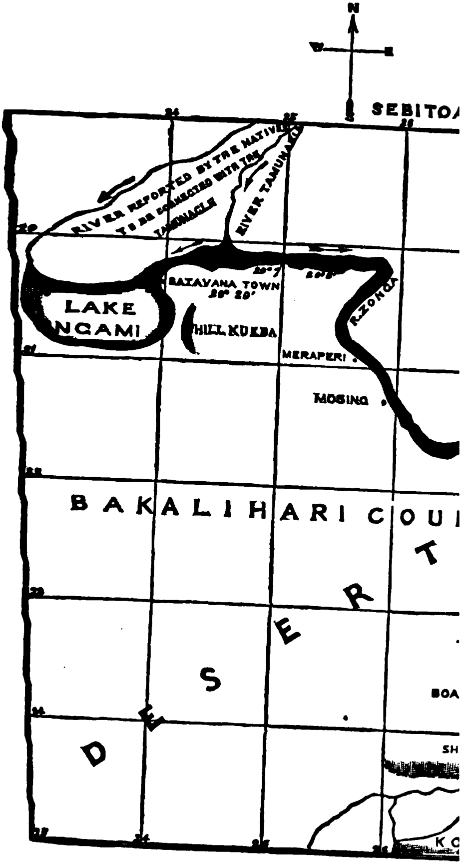

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...ouga, after its junction with the Tamunakle, ... The farther it runs East, the narrower it becomes. T... ...se is shown by the arrow-heads. *The rivers not seen, but repor...* *by natives*, are put down in dotted lines. The dotted lines runnin... north of the river and lake, show the probable course of the Tamu... nakle, and another river, which fall into the lake at its north-west extremity. The arrow-heads show also the direction of *its* flow. At the part marked by the name of the chief, Mosing, it is not more than 50 or 60 yards in breadth, while at 20° 7′ it is more than 100, and very deep.

"The principal disease reported to prevail at certain seasons appears, from the account of the symptoms the natives give, to be pneumonia, and not fever. When the wind rises to an ordinary breeze, such immense clouds of dust arise from the numerous dried-out lakes, called salt-pans, that the whole atmosphere becomes quite yellow, and one cannot distinguish objects more than two miles off. It causes irritation in the eyes, and, as wind prevails almost constantly at certain seasons, this impalpable powder may act as it does among the grinders in Sheffield. We observed cough among them, a complaint almost unknown at Kolobeng. Musquitoes swarm in summer, and the banyan and palmyra give in some parts an Indian cast to the scenery. Who will go in to possess this goodly land in the name of Him whose right it is to reign?

(Signed) "DAVID LIVINGSTON."

In April, 1850, Dr. Livingston made a second attempt to visit the region of the lake, with a view to the extension of Missionary enterprise. On this occasion he was accompanied by Mrs. L. and their children, and also by Sechele, the chief, and Mebaloe, the native teacher of the Kolobeng station.

After visiting the Bakarutse tribe, who live at the lower end of the Zouga, the travellers crossed that river and ascended its northern bank, intending to follow the course of the Tamunakle until they reached the residence of the friendly chief, Sebeboana.

When they were near the junction of the two rivers, they were informed by Palane, a Bakhoba chief, that the fly called "tsetse" abounded on the Tamunakle. As the bite of this formidable insect was known to be fatal to

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oxen, horses, and dogs, though not to m
were in possession of no more oxen than
ficient to draw the wagons, Mr. Livings
prosecute his enterprise alone; but Mrs.
pass the interval among the Bataoana, wh
husband's return, the party recrossed the
ceeded onwards to the lake. Sechulath
engaged to furnish Mr. Livingston with guid
dition, and also to make provision for his fa
absence. These preliminary arrangement
and everything appearing favourable, Mr. L.
of starting on his journey, when his driver an
laid up by fever, and subsequently two of his
others of the party, were attacked. As the m
to exist in a more concentrated form near the
any other part, and had already proved fatal in t
the travellers considered it prudent to retreat,
two Sundays with the Bataoana; and as the
Livingston's command was nearly expended, h
tantly compelled, through the serious obstacles
by the prevalence of the fever and the fly, to re
station at Kolobeng, deferring the accomplish
ulterior objects for a more favourable opportunit

The sickness with which the party were attacke
to be marsh fever, generated from the lake and ri
period of the year when evaporation has procee
as to expose the banks of vegetable matter to the
the sun. In the natives, the effects of the poison
into the system appear most frequently in the for
lious fever, and they generally recover, after being
relieved of bile; but as the result of his observat
inquiry, Mr. Livingston has been led to doubt whet
disease may not form a serious barrier to the intro
of *European* civilization, and the formation of Mis
establishments in the vicinity of the lake district
however, the Teoge, a river which falls into the lake
north-west extremity, is reported to flow southwar

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...at rapidity, the region beyond must b
...vation; and hopes are consequently
...alities may be found in that direction
...the score of health. With a view to th
...teresting and important problem, Mr. Liv
undertake another journey at the first op
...rs. L. so fully partakes of the enterprisin
...usband, and so cordially sympathizes in h
...e has consented to his leaving her durin
...ore or less protracted, that an undertakin
...uch objects, must necessarily occupy.

On the Sunday which I spent at Kolobeng, w
...ice at the chapel.

Very many of the natives attended. Mr. L
dressed those who were assembled in large num
...side, and who had been unable to gain admittance
Dr. Livingston kindly acted as my interprete
congregation within the building. All were attenti
it was encouraging to find them disposed to assemb
listen. But the people are, with the exception of
chief, nearly all heathen, dressed in their native kar
their hair greased, necks belaboured with chains and
ments, and many of them begrimed with red ochre.
few are trying to learn to read, and some children att
school. It was gratifying on the Sunday morning to
the chief, Sechele, kindly and earnestly endeavouring
teach his people the elements of reading.

The whole Mission-work of the station, however, is quit
in an incipient state; and the teacher requires for his labour of love a large supply of the patience of hope. and the zeal that is not exhausted by difficulty. How many important considerations rise before him under such circumstances! How far is a Missionary justified in remaining with a heathen people, when, though they are glad of his presence, for the shield it serves to throw around them in their civil and political condition, they not only do not embrace the gospel he preaches, but resist and oppose, and

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scarcely ever come to hear him? How long is he warranted in remaining with them under such circumstances, and especially if other tribes are within his reach, and who might be willing to embrace his message? And all these considerations receive additional weight when it is recollected that our Society is so limited in its funds, that it cannot afford to spend much in the way of experimenting on people, while large opportunities exist of proclaiming the gospel to great multitudes in India and China, and where multitudes are already willing to hear, at any rate the message which is announced. The population here is not large; and yet three thousand souls would form a sufficiently large sphere of operation for a Missionary, provided he has access to them, and they actually come under his instruction and influence.

I had now reached the extreme point of my journey northward; and having completed my visit to Kolobeng. I commenced my journey on my return to the South. The chief and Dr. Livingston accompanied Mr. and Miss Moffat and myself to our first resting-place; there we separated. They returned home; and the rest of our party proceeded towards Quaque, in the country of the Wankeets. The Society has here a valuable and devoted teacher, called Sibobe, sustained by contributions from friends at Bristol.

The young chieftain here, Sintoe, appeared very pleasant, intelligent, and friendly.

The next Sunday we remained in the neighbourhood of a village of Barolongs, on the borders of the Kalliharri desert. The natives attended in considerable numbers.

In the evening we held service beneath our tent with the few natives who understood English or Dutch who accompanied us; and it being the first Sabbath in the year, we celebrated the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

The lightning this evening was exceedingly grand and sublime; I never saw it more so. The sheet lightning seemed to cover at once the face of the heavens, and the pointed and forked lightning was indescribably vivid, fre-

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—quent, and magnificent, at times s
of an inverted tree, having a vast c
rous branches, stretching out on b

The next day the air was delig
after the rains which had fallen dur
tinued travelling over silent and
reached a small village of Wankeets,
tain happened to be absent. We sa
with the people, under the shade of
structed of poles and grass. A skin of
lion was lying there, measuring seven fe
the insertion of the tail. The huge mo
destroyed several head of cattle belongi
was shot by the villagers, who had gone ou
and happily found him in a sound, tra
suspecting danger so near at hand.

On reaching the "Kolong," near Mamu
only accident occurred which we had met wi
ney—Mr. Moffat's wagon upset. Happily n
chief was done. Miss M. was inside, and a
servant. Neither of them was injured. My
just passed the same spot safely. Had there b
on the part of the driver, Mr. M.'s wagon might
safely too, as the place was neither steep nor d
delayed us about half an hour to get all right a
means of a few hands pulling the wagon up on
and a strong, united lift on the other, the vehicl
up on its four wheels again, reloaded, and shor
wards reached the residence of Mr. Ross.

The locality has nothing of interest. It is a ston
—all sandstone; no hills of any height; scarcely an
tation. There are four villages, and they contain
gether about 4000 people, chiefly Batlapis and Baha
There are also some Bamairas and some Bawangk
Motlaribe is chief of the Baharutse here.

The station of Mamusa lies about 230 miles south-w
from Kolobeng. The station was commenced in 18

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about 150, upwards of 100 of whom are communicants. The Rev. W. Ross is the Society's laborious Missionary here.

From Mamusa we proceeded to Borigelong, an out-station, containing a population of about 200, chiefly Corannas. We might have reached the village rather earlier this morning, but for the misfortune of losing one of our cattle last night. The men, though cautioned, had neglected to tie them safely up to the wagon gear, on our going to rest. Hence they wandered, quietly grazing, to some little distance, where one of them was seized by a wolf, mangled, and destroyed. The rest, of course, ran off to a considerable distance. We borrowed a few cattle of some native Bechuanas, who were travelling our way, and known to Mr. Moffat, and so proceeded to Lekatlong, leaving our driver to bring forward the other cattle as soon as found.

Lekatlong is a large and important field of Missionary operation. Here is a population of about 1200. The congregation averages 600, and the communicants amount to half that number. Mr. Helmore has much to encourage him in his work. There is a miserable chapel, certainly, but an excellent congregation; and I did not fail to urge upon them the necessity and duty of providing a far better and more appropriate place of worship. The Sunday-schools are well attended, and so is the Infant-school, superintended by Miss Helmore, sister of Mr. H. Many children are absent at present at what are termed "out-posts," that is, places where rather more grass and water can be obtained for the cattle than at the principal towns. The children are sent there to obtain supplies of milk, on which, in fact, they subsist. Nothing can be obtained at the towns for the support of large families. Subsistence is altogether scarce and difficult.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIG

EXPLANATION OF THE NAME—EXTENT—HISTORY OF ITS AC
PRIVY COUNCIL REPORT—COLONIES, HOW ACQUIRED ?-
CESSION, OCCUPANCY—ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OPINION
RECONSIDERED—VARIETY OF OPINIONS—FINAL ARRAN
POWER OF LEGAL FICTIONS—DANCING A POLKA—TRANSFO
—ANNEXATION—COLOURED RACES—BLOEM FONTEIN—M
SOME BUSHMEN—COMMANDO—MURDERERS ARRESTED—CA
PUNISHED—ELOPEMENT—PUNISHED WITH DEATH—LYNCH
EXECUTION OF TWO MEN BY COURT-MARTIAL—THABA U
MOROKO—PLATBERG—NOBLE KLOOF—REV. MR. GIDDY—
BOSSIO.

On leaving Mr. Helmore's station at Lekatlong, travelling towards the colony, my next object was to vi the Missions of the "Paris Missionary Society," amo the Basutos. The Basuto country has been lately in cluded by Sir Harry Smith within the district bearing the above designation. The only stations belonging to the London Missionary Society, in this immense and newly constituted territory, are those among the Griquas, under the chieftain Adam Kok, and which I have already described. But as the whole question of annexing this large piece of territory, of some *forty to fifty thousand square miles*, to the colony, is replete with the deepest interest, and certainly involves the gravest questions, I am unwilling to omit a distinct reference to it; and the rather, as its present political position greatly affects all the Missions within its boundaries. The territory designated

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"Orange River Sovereignty" lies beyond the old colonial boundary, on the north-east, and embraces the tract of country between the "Vaal" and the "Orange" Rivers. Its most southern point is the thirty-first degree of south latitude, and it stretches up to about twenty-six and a half in its north-eastern extremity. It commences on the west at the junction of those two rivers, and is bounded on the north-east by the Drakenberg range of mountains.

This Orange River Sovereignty includes on its eastern side several districts occupied by natives, and ruled by native chiefs, over whom it claims to exercise a paramount authority, and among whom Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, is the principal. It embraces also, on the west side, a large tract of country, partly taken from the natives, under various arrangements, and partly found as unoccupied territory—territory bereft of its aboriginal inhabitants, either by internal wars or the intrusion of the Dutch farmers.

This second portion of the Sovereignty is divided into four districts, over which four magistrates or civil commissioners are respectively appointed, besides a fifth officer designated "British Resident," as paramount, and whose office is at Bloem Fontein.

The "Sovereignty" was constituted and proclaimed by Sir H. Smith, 3rd February, 1848.

The history of our acquisition of this new and enormous piece of territory may be given in the words of a Report from the Lords of Council, on Trade and Foreign Plantations, and which was read at Buckingham Palace, 13th July, 1850.

"*The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

"It is necessary briefly to advert to the steps that led to the assumption of the Sovereignty of the Crown over this district. In 1836 the emigrant Boers settled themselves down in many parts of what is now called the Orange Sovereignty: they assumed absolute independence; established a species of government for themselves; disputed native titles to land; disclaimed being amenable to any native jurisdiction, even when within the acknowledged territory of native

iefs; and in the result it became app
overnment interposed its authority, a
d crime, and a total extinction of the
llow.

"To a certain extent the evils arising
were provided against by the Act of 6 & 7
ides for the punishment of offences by Her
ertain territories adjacent to the Cape of G
nd aggression of the Boers upon the nati
hecked, and, imperfect as was the remedy
luctive of much good. The provisions of this
found inadequate to prevent the frequent o
natural distrust and jealousy between the Boer
led, and in 1845, Sir P. Maitland adopted mea
ceived might be effectual for the purpose. With
into arrangements with the native chiefs, for
marking off the lands to be held by the natives fi
by the Boers, giving the Boers leases of these lan
chiefs, and regulating the payment of quit-rents,
expenses of maintaining certain magistrates and a
first instance to be paid. These measures, regulatin
of the land, and the application of the land revenue, th
at the same time, of a British Resident, aided b
native contingent, in case of need, and compelling a
Boers and natives, to keep the peace, were at that tim
extension of the authority of the Crown over these dom

"Not many months after Sir H. Smith had taken the
Government of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope,
was called to the state of disorganization which contin
territory, notwithstanding all that had been done; and
the conclusion that peace could not be maintained witho
istence of some more formal and regular Government; and
of February 1848, he issued the proclamation which is con
the present papers, proclaiming the Sovereignty of your Maje
the territories north of the Great Orange River, including th
tories of the native chiefs, Moshesh, Moroko, Moletsani, Sikc
Adam Kok, Gert Taybosch, and other minor chiefs, so far no
the Vaal River, and east to the Drakenburg or Quathlamba Moun

"This, and a subsequent proclamation of the 8th of March
contained regulations for the government of the assumed sovereig
providing for the emigrant Boers the law now prevailing in the C
colony, and declaring, that, as to the natives, Her Majesty's author
was paramount, but that the hereditary rights of the chiefs should
maintained. . . . . . .

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this Committee comprised among its legal members the present Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Edward Ryan, and Sir James Stephen.

"If, on farther consideration of the subject, Mr. Porter, and the other legal authorities of the colony whom you may think proper to consult, should see reason to concur with the Committee, it might be unnecessary to incur the inconvenience of deferring the final settlement of this question until the next session of Parliament."

In September, 1850, the Governor referred the matter to the re-consideration of Mr. Porter, with a new view of the case, in the following terms:—

"His Excellency observes that you hold the Orange River Sovereignty to be 'a colony by occupancy;' and, being apprehensive that you had not a full statement of the facts of the case before you when you pronounced that opinion, has desired me," says his secretary, "to submit the question for your re-consideration.

"Before the emigration of British subjects into the country north of the Orange River commenced, that country must be held to have belonged to the native chiefs; nor was the occupation of British subjects in any way recognized, so as to make the Sovereignty a British possession, until the date of his Excellency's Proclamation of 3rd February, 1848.

"Previously to the issue of that Proclamation, his Excellency had conferred with all the native chiefs, who agreed to cede the Sovereignty of the country to him, as Her Majesty's representative, as the means of securing British protection. His Excellency has desired me to ascertain whether this circumstance, which he believes was not before clearly stated to you, makes any difference in the opinion above quoted."

Mr. Porter having re-considered the subject, now decided that the Sovereignty was *a colony by cession*, although he had before thought that "there was nothing that purported to be a cession—and no chiefs competent to make a cession!" Mr. P. remarks:—

"I am glad that his Excellency's attention has been drawn to that opinion, since the result is to set me right upon a question of fact, in regard to which I had fallen into error.

"His Excellency's statement of what took place beyond the Orange River previous to the issue of his Proclamation of the 3rd February, 1848, establishes that the native chiefs then made a cession of the country now called 'The Sovereignty.'

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"The Orange River Sovereignty must, therefore, (contrary to my mpression when writing in March 1849,) be deemed to be a colony by ession, and not, as I was disposed to think, when ignorant that the hiefs had agreed with his Excellency to cede the Sovereignty of the ountry to Her Majesty, a colony by occupancy.

"The title by conquest his Excellency appears, with myself, to view as one which is inconsistent with the facts of the case, since we never, at any time, were engaged in hostilities with any native chief in that country; and since we could not, of course, make title by conquest under those rapid and successful military movements against rebel British subjects, which did not go before, but, on the contrary, followed, the Proclamation of the 3rd February, 1848, establishing Her Majesty's authority.

"Title by cession is, however, quite another thing; and being of opinion that no particular form is necessary to such a cession, nor anything except an intention to cede the Sovereignty and the country, sufficiently expressed by chiefs competent to make the cession, I think it quite clear, from his Excellency's statement, that the Orange River Sovereignty is a colony by cession, and subject to the legislation of the Crown."

This opinion of the Attorney-General is transmitted to Earl Grey on the 8th October, 1850, and on 11th February, 1851, his Lordship promises to send out immediately the Commission required by the Governor, to authorize him to assume the Government of the Orange River Sovereignty; and this was accordingly done on the 25th March, when letters patent were forwarded to Sir H. Smith, "erecting the Orange River territory into a separate Government, to be administered by the Governor of the Cape, and by the Lieutenant-Governor of the said territory." That is, after all, that the colony is *a colony by conquest*, and consequently can be governed by Her Majesty, without an appeal to Parliament!

There is something in all this, passing strange! "There is no conquest," says the Governor. "Conquest is out of the question," echoes the Attorney-General. "It is a colony by conquest," say the Lords of the Council. "It is not cession," says the Attorney-General, "for there were no parties competent to cede it, and therefore it is a colony by occupancy." "But the chiefs did cede the

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Sovereignty to him," says the Governor, on second thoughts. Then, rejoins the Attorney-General, "It is quite clear, from His Excellency's statement, that it is *a colony by cession.*" And on hearing this, the Imperial Government still placidly whispers, "It is a colony by conquest;" and then issues letters patent accordingly for its government.

Marvellous is the transforming power of Law! ay! even of a *fiction* of Law. It gives reality to non-existence, and form, and shape, and colour to airy subtleties; calls things that are not, as though they were; proclaims a conquest where there has been no struggle; claims paramount authority over chiefs, to prevent their mutual quarrels, and places the paw of the British Lion on the necks of them all; accepts their request for friendly interposition, and then seizes all their possessions; steps forward to mark boundary lines to their respective inheritances, and claims them all as "a Sovereignty" for itself; recognizes in unhesitating terms their respective and inalienable rights, and then absorbs them all; caresses a powerful chief, applauds him as humane and peaceful, and then says "he must be humbled;" dances a polka with him;* permits enemies to attack him; forbids his defending himself, on pain of forfeiting our friendship, and then rewards his unsuspecting confidence by depriving him of a large slice of his territory; throws the ægis of the British shield over his land for his protection, and then calls it a "British Sovereignty," "obtained by conquest." "*Veni, Vidi, Vici!*" Conquered, undoubtedly, by theodolites, tapes, chains. maps, and diagrams, and "letters patent."

And then, gravely adds Earl Grey, "Wherever British Sovereignty extends, the people then become British subjects!" Marvellous this transforming power of Law!

* Sir H. Smith, her Majesty's representative, thus endearingly expressed his regard for Moshesh "on the light fantastic toe"—the same toe that was equally fantastic, but less light, on the neck of poor Macomo.

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-Moshesh, Moletsani, Moroko, Sikonyella, and a host of en of euphonious name, all constituted, by the Colonial ffice pen, *British Subjects*, without their wish, and without ving them a hint about it. There they are, *nolens, volens*, ıd more of the former than the latter, "British" subjects. [arvellous this power of Great Britain! Most surprising ıis influence of the Colonial Office! Magical, mysterious, lmost miraculous, this transforming energy of the Privy ;ouncil! Fifty thousand square miles of territory—waste nd void, or occupied by native allies—transmuted in a noment into a British Sovereignty, with all its tribes of sable men, who dreamt they were free and independent, and awoke, and behold it was a dream!—they had become "amenable to the British Laws!"

And why not? Why should not England keep pace with other noble lands, in the glorious struggle for annexation? Is Russia to have Poland, America the Texas, France Algeria and Tahiti? Then why should not Great Britain have also Kaffraria and the Orange River Sovereignty?

And after all, let it be remembered, these are *only coloured races*, and semi-civilized tribes, who ought to be put on the proof that they have a right to occupy any nook in this fair globe of ours, if we want it—a globe, evidently destined for the Anglo-Saxon race! The least they can do is to beg pardon, as Robert Hall said in another case, "of every man they meet, for having ventured to come into the world."

Bloem Fontein, the seat of British Government in this Sovereignty, has nothing to recommend it, in its natural features. The scenery is extremely uninteresting. There is no wood, and little water.

The *plan* of a town is laid out. The foundation of a church is laid. A court-house and a prison exist. There are about forty or fifty tolerable houses built; there are a few stores and shops, a market-place with a bell to announce the time when sales take place, and a clerk of the

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market appointed. A good well has been sunk, and at forty feet depth, a supply of water is found from six to nine feet. The inhabitants have wisely asked to be formed into a municipality, and their request has been granted. Here is also a fortress, a few cannon, part of a regiment, a major, one hundred Cape Mounted Rifles, and barracks, as the usual materials of an improving community.

There is also a Government school-house, but, at the time of my visit, without scholars or master. Religious services were held there on Sunday. Mr. Murray, son of the Dutch clergyman of Graaff Reinet, has received the appointment to the new church. He diligently and laudably employs himself, during a great part of his time, in travelling among the emigrant farmers in the interior, and conducting religious services. During our brief sojourn in the town, we held a public Missionary Meeting, which was well attended, as were also the services on Sunday.

Major Warden, the Resident, happened to be absent from town while we were there.

It appears he was out with some troops in pursuit of some Bushmen, who had lately been guilty of a murder. A farmer had been shot by them, his wife and children murdered, and a servant also. The house was then plundered and set fire to. The farmer is reported to have been a man of violent temper, had been severe with the Bushmen, and they had threatened to take their revenge. The farmer had, a day or two previously, threatened he would shoot a Basuto, whose cattle annoyed him by trespassing on his ground. He spoke about it deliberately to a friend, and said he was determined to shoot the man. His friend and his wife advised him rather to proceed to Bloem Fontein, and lodge a legal complaint against the man, and so obtain redress. Without promising to comply, he remained at home, and was murdered by the Bushmen that Sunday evening. As soon as the fact became known, the farmers in the neighbourhood, as in their own defence

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›t out in pursuit of the supposed murderers, but were nable to succeed in taking them.

How many Bushmen they killed or took prisoners prior ɔ the arrival of the Major and his troops, I did not hear; ›ut it is said the Bushmen defended themselves vigorously vith one gun and some poisoned arrows. On the arrival of he Major, six of them were killed in the attempt to arrest them; six others were made prisoners, and reserved for trial. These I was informed, were found guilty, and hanged, and upwards of 100 (it is said 130) were taken and distributed among the farmers for service. It seems that one man had been admitted as Queen's evidence, and that the details of the murder had been obtained from him. He pleaded that he was induced to join the party under false representations, and that, having been brought near the house, and there first made acquainted with the real design, he abstained from further proceedings. One farmer had since died of the wounds which he received from a poisoned arrow. Here is an instance of the old Commando system brought again into operation. But by what law the 130 men have been made slaves, and distributed for compulsory service among the farmers—that is to say, reduced to slavery—I have not been able to learn. Yet all this is done within the British Sovereignty.

About a month prior to the murder detailed in the preceding page, it appears that a farmer and some of his friends residing near Elandberg (not more than three hours' ride from Mr. Roland's station at Beersheba) went to a Bushman's kraal, and accused him of having carried off his daughter. The man directed the father to ask first of his daughter how the case stood, and she confessed that, having been refused permission to smoke tobacco at home, she had left her father's house and accompanied the man. The Bushman was then shot dead on the spot, the young woman was flogged, and taken away home by her father (*enceinte*). The murderer went to report himself and his case to the British Resident, and *so* the affair terminated.

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But, amidst such proceedings—violent and lawless—can it be otherwise than that perpetual jealousies and revenge must take place—till the miserable remnant of the Bushmen, driven to the rocks, where many now conceal themselves, shall be exterminated?

It was here Sir Harry Smith had his camp, after the engagement of 1848 with the Boers. On that occasion two men were shot under the following circumstances. Draaier, a young Dutchman, and Quigby, an Irishman, were taken prisoners in arms against the British. The former was an emigrant, the latter a deserter from the British forces. They were tried by a court-martial, on Sunday morning, and found guilty. They were condemned to die, and their graves were forthwith dug, at about a thousand paces from the place of trial. For Quigby there was no sympathy among his comrades. He was a bold, reckless character; a fine, stout, healthy man, about twenty-eight years of age. Draaier, it appears, had been forced by his countrymen into this service. He had twice run away from it,—so unwilling to enter the ranks against the English; and when taken, though with arms in hand, he had not used them. His gun was examined, and found perfectly clean. It had not been fired off. The Governor, it is said, was determined to make an example, and strike terror into the Boers. In the latter it has failed. It has caused hatred—fiercer hatred than ever, and is believed to have cost, secretly, the lives of many Englishmen already, who have ventured in among the Boers, and never afterwards been heard of. The wife of Draaier is young, and has not ceased to weep for what she and her family and friends regard as her murdered husband. The men were executed on the Monday morning. They were led to the place of their graves; six soldiers fired—three balls struck each victim; Draaier died instantly; Quigby fell, but was not mortally wounded. He was then shot with a pistol through the head, by the quartermaster. Their bodies were immediately covered up in the graves, and the Governor and his attendants left Bloem Fontein.

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From Bloem Fontein we proceeded to "Thaba Unchu," on our way to the Basuto country. This station is marked off in the map of the Sovereignty as belonging to the Barolongs, a tribe of Bechuanas, and is under the chieftainship of Moroko. It is a Wesleyan Mission station of considerable importance. The Rev. Mr. Cameron resides here. He was absent from home when we called there, as was also the chief, so that we had not the pleasure of meeting with either.

Having outspanned in the evening, we started early next morning, and continued our way across the grassy plains of the country, till twelve o'clock, when we rested two hours. The mountainous scenery is magnificent, but the country is wearisome and monotonous: no trees to enliven the scene, not even a bush to be met with—no birds with cheerful song—nor the roar of a lion to create a pleasing variety. The country is adapted to grazing, and the cattle are numerous.

We next reached Platberg, a town in the country occupied by the Bastaards, under the chieftainship of a smart little native, Carolus Batje. This, also, is a Wesleyan station, and we were glad to renew our acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Giddy, whom we had met at Bloem Fontein, from whom we received a cordial welcome, and every assistance which he could render us in lending and procuring oxen for our journey. Many of the inhabitants here are industrious and thrifty, and appear to be in circumstances of considerable comfort. We counted nearly twenty wagons standing about. The village had a lively appearance in the evening, from the number of fires that were lighted in the houses of the villagers. The place is well supplied with water. There are many gardens, and much land is cultivated. Corn of all kinds is extensively raised. The Bastaards purchase it of the natives, and supply the neighbourhood for many miles round.

We ascended the kloof at Platberg, not far distant from Mr. Giddy's residence. It is a noble kloof, and, as one of

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the stupendous works of nature in this country, well worth the fatigue of a visit to see it. With some difficulty we reached its extreme point, where the spring of water from the high ground falls perpendicularly over some lofty rocks of sandstone, and from thence proceeds through the valley in the kloof, and supplies a stream to irrigate the ground and gardens around Platberg. On our return to Mr. Giddy's, breakfast was welcome, and having done justice to it and ourselves, we proceeded on our journey to Thaba Bossio. There commenced our visit to the French Missionary stations in the Basuto country, and to those stations I propose to devote the next chapter.

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CHAPTER X

THE BASUTO COUNTRY, AN
MISSIONS.

EARLY RESIDENCE OF MOSHESH—HIS EARLY STRUG
—POLYGAMY—CHARACTER OF MOSHESH—HUM
—WATERBOER—MOSHESH'S ESTIMATE OF WA
HENSIVE VIEWS OF MOSHESH—HIS COMPLAINTS
WITH HIM—GOVERNOR MAITLAND—FIDELITY O
DUCT OF GOVERNMENT—MOSHESH ASKS REDRESS—
AWAY HIS TERRITORY—VISIT TO MOSHESH—CON
MOSHESH—INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEOPLE—DIFFIC
MISSIONARY—APPEAL OF MOSHESH TO HER MAJESTY
MOSHESH—LETTER TO LORD JOHN RUSSEL—SIR H. SM
—EXTENT OF TERRITORY LOST—MORIJA—FEELINGS O
—PRINTING-PRESS—CONVERSION OF LIBEY—COMPA
RATE—DEATH OF MISS CHRISTIE—ROBERT MOFFAT—MO
ATTACK OF CORANNAS—MISSION STATION—CANNIBAL CA
NIBALS WATCHING THEIR PREY—EXTIRPATION OF THA
CUSTOM—VISIT TO BETHULIA—CARMEL—TAKING LIONS BY
—LION SHOT AND KID SAVED—BEERSHEBA—MR. RO
ABSENCE OF CHILDREN—CANNIBALISM.

THE Basuto Country, under the chieftain Moshesh
constitutes a considerable portion of the "B
Sovereignty," on its eastern side. It is bounded on
east by a part of the Witte Bergen, or White Mounta
and which separates it from Kaffirland. These are s
posed to be about two thousand five hundred or thr
thousand feet above the surrounding country, and eigh
or nine thousand feet above the level of the sea. Much o
the country is admirably described by Messrs. Arbousset
and Daumas, in their highly interesting volume, entitled

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"Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne Esperance," and of which a faithful translation was made in the colony by the Rev. J. C. Brown.

A little to the north of the 29th degree of south latitude, and at the base of the great chain of mountains, the Maloutis, stood the residence of Chaka, the Zoolu warrior, and on the other side of that chain, in the highest land in South Africa, was the residence of Moshesh. Between them lies the most elevated point of the chain, and there is one entire mountain which is remarkable for its length, the size of the mass of which it is composed, and most particularly for this circumstance, that in that mountain, the Vaal, the Orange, and the Caledon Rivers have their sources. At the sources of those rivers are some of the most beautiful and romantic valleys in South Africa, and it was here that Moshesh was born, and grew to manhood in the midst of his tribe. The national songs still celebrate the green pastures of Boutabouta, where the young Moshesh hunted the eland, and speared the wild boar.

These halcyon days, celebrated with so much pleasure by the Basutos, were not to last, and the young Moshesh was to be called from the sports of the field, to defend himself and tribe against the savage warfare, that was now carried on against himself and his people, by Matwana and Pakarita,* who had both come into his neighbourhood. Seeing that he could not defend the open country against the attacks of such powerful enemies, he drew his people together into the valleys of Boutabouta, where he continued for some years to maintain his independence; but, getting tired of the terrible struggle he had to maintain, Moshesh

* The former, a chief who had been defeated by Chaka, and the latter, a Fingo chief, on whom the famished remnant of Matwana's tribe fell. He attacked in turn the Mantatees, and they, the Bechuanas, destroying the vestiges of civilization which Mr. Campbell had seen in his journey to Kurrechene.

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meditated the means of extricating himself from these scenes of horror. Pakarita had just fallen beneath the power of Matwana, and the latter had set out on an expedition against the Tambookies. The Mantatees, under their chief Sikonyella, still held possession of a mountain, from which their enemies were not able to expel them; but the surface of the mountain, though extensive, not being capable of affording pasturage to all the cattle which they required, they became a band of freebooters. No longer in dread of the chief and people, whom Matwana had left behind him, they began to be troublesome; but, having given them a signal defeat, Moshesh embraced the opportunity now afforded him of emigrating with his people to Thaba Bossio, where he now resides. This remarkable spot is about seventy or eighty miles south-west of Boutabouta, and about fifteen from the Blue Mountains, or Maloutis. It was chosen by the chief as his future residence, on account of an isolated table mountain, to which he and his people could retreat when attacked, and on which it would be an easy matter for them to defend themselves against the enemies of whom they had any dread. The mountain has a plateau on its summit, nearly a league in circumference. It is accessible only by five ravines, and these are capable of being easily defended against any forces which their enemies among the natives could bring against them.

The mountain is called Thaba Bossio, or the "Mountain of Night," and presents a very picturesque appearance from the surrounding country. On its summit there are three separate villages. Here Moshesh has two tolerably well-built stone houses, and which might be exceedingly comfortable and respectable, if he had but *a* wife to look after them. He has so many, (it is said fifty), that nobody attends to them properly, and they are becoming dilapidated. There has also been excellent and expensive furniture; but here also is seen the curse and misery of polygamy, for everything is ruined and perishing.

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The summit of this mountain is indurated sandstone resting on granite. The French Mission premises, which stand in a gorge near the base of the mountain, add an indescribable charm to the picture. They rest on ground which has been raised above the base of the mountain, and is thought to be of more recent formation than Thaba Bossio. The ascent to the plateau is neither difficult nor dangerous, but somewhat fatiguing.

One of the principal paths consists of a basaltic dyke, about ten feet in width, formed when in a molten state, and which has acted strongly on all the sandstone in its immediate vicinity. It has passed down one side of the hill, and after meeting some obstruction there, has crossed the valley and intersected the hills on the opposite side.

Moshesh is favourably known already by all those who take an interest in South African politics, and by all who are familiar with the valuable and successful Missions established in his country by the Paris Missionary Society. It may not be unacceptable to add here a few notices connected with the further history and character of this remarkable man.

He is endowed with a mind naturally fond of *improvement*. He seems to have felt that his tribe was in a state of barbarous ignorance, even before the contrast presented by civilized nations had apprised him of the fact. Not more than thirty years ago, he had not as much as a suspicion of the existence of white nations, and had never seen either a gun or a horse; he is now perhaps possessed of the greatest number of fire-arms and horses of any chief in South Africa.

His eager disposition to reform is seconded in him by a total absence of those superstitious fears which exert so baneful an influence on the minds of his countrymen. He appears to have, even from his childhood, considered as false all pretensions to supernatural power in man. In order to satisfy himself and others on this subject, he feigned on two occasions to be very ill, and consulted the

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most accredited *witch smellers* of the country. They went through all their usual ceremonies, pointed out the guilty persons, and pronounced their doom, to the great amazement and amusement of the young chief, who was conscious of enjoying perfect health.

One of his most commendable traits is a perfect command of his temper, and a natural dislike to harsh measures, and any kind of revenge.

This he has displayed on many occasions, to a most astonishing degree. Some years ago, being on the eve of undertaking a warlike expedition against the Tambookies, he placed his children and his people under the protection of *Sikonyella*, a chief of the Mantatee tribe, who had been for a long time his most inveterate enemy.

Sikonyella appeared to feel himself honoured by that mark of confidence, and gave the most solemn promises. Moshesh had, however, no sooner departed with all his forces, than Sikonyella sent, in the most treacherous manner, a strong party of men to destroy the people of Thaba Bossio.

Happily, the old men left at home, and some courageous females, repelled the attack, and gave the Mantatees cause to repent of it. Moshesh, at his return, felt extremely indignant; but to the present day has abstained from revenge.

He has also, by his example and interference, imparted to his tribe a character of humanity and gentleness of manners, very remarkable. Robberies and murders are almost unheard of. Foreigners are everywhere respected and well received. Capital punishments have been long abolished, and replaced by heavy fines. "I wonder," said Moshesh to a friend, discussing that subject, "that kings should not have all felt the propriety of following the example of God, in the punishment of crime. There are many men who do not fear death; but there are none above the dread of a life of want and infamy." These observations of his are given here without discussion on their merit.

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The only chief in South Africa, with whom Moshesh may be compared, is Waterboer; and yet the circumstances under which their minds have been formed, and the respective features of their character, differ in so many points, that it would require much time and very ample details to do them justice. Both consider Christianity as the source of European greatness, and as the only instrument by which barbarous or savage tribes around them can be elevated; but the views of Moshesh are more vague and indefinite on this subject, than those of Waterboer.

It is questionable whether Moshesh is most influenced by policy or principle, in the favour he shows to the promotion of the Christian religion among his people—perhaps the former predominates; but he has a keen perception of the excellency of Christian principle. The character of Waterboer is not unknown to him, and the mention of his name in his hearing, gave rise, says Dr. Philip, to one of the finest bursts of feeling he had ever witnessed.

Being asked if he knew Waterboer, the tears came into his eyes, every feature of his face glowed with admiration and benevolence, while he exclaimed, "I have never seen Waterboer. Would that I were near that man! Waterboer is a good man; he saved thousands of my people from destruction; rescued them out of the hands of their enemies; retook for many of them the cattle of which they had been robbed; fed those who were entirely destitute; furnished them with cattle and sheep out of his own herds and flocks, and gave them leave to return to me with all their herds, when he knew I wished for them, and could protect them."

In this account Moshesh gives of the conduct of Waterboer towards his people, he refers to the calamities brought upon the Basutos by the invasion of their country by the Zoolus, and the robberies committed on those of them who fled to the west, and were robbed of their cattle by the Corannas and Bergenaars.

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Waterboer acted a noble part to that people in their distress, and it was by the report of those who had been saved by his instrumentality, and who had returned to Moshesh, that that chief had been led to form so favourable an opinion of his character.

It was in 1835, during the Kaffir war, that Moshesh began to take a deep interest in our colonial affairs. The progress of that war was watched by him with great intensity of feeling, and the terms which were given to the Kaffirs, in restoring to them their country, astonished him, and inspired him with the most favourable opinion of British justice and generosity. The favourable impression made upon his mind by the conduct of the Government in this instance, has been greatly deepened by the present state of the law, in reference to the coloured classes. A generous and noble act he can understand; but he confesses that he is lost in astonishment at the workings of a system that protects the poor from the oppression of the rich.

"My poor people," says he, "go into the colony; they enter into contracts with colonial masters; if they are badly used, or the conditions of their contracts are not fulfilled on the part of the masters, they have only to complain to a neighbouring magistrate, and they obtain redress; and in journeys of weeks and months, they return home with their little property in as much security as if they had had an army to defend them; while I find that I cannot save my people from the oppression of those who should do them justice, nor afford them protection if I am not myself present with them."

He perceives that a nation must be great, where the poor can obtain justice; that the tribes of Africa never can be elevated without it; and that it can be obtained by the principles of the Bible only; but he cannot form a conception of how so much public virtue can exist in a world in which men are so much swayed by their private interests.

To see such a mind, in such circumstances, grappling

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with such subjects, furnishes one of the most interesting spectacles which can come within the sphere of our observation, and it is to us, at this moment, doubly interesting, from the position he occupies, and from the use the Government may make of him for the future security of the colony, and the preservation and improvement of the native tribes of the interior.*

The Basutos, with their chieftain Moshesh, complain bitterly of the conduct of Sir H. Smith in depriving them of a large section of their country, and yet they fear that their complaints and remonstrances are in vain.

The history of this case may be summed up in a short compass.

It was shortly after the Kaffir war of 1834-5, that communications began to be made by the colonial Government, of a friendly character, with Moshesh. Sir B. D'Urban conveyed to him messages and assurances of friendship, and in the course of a year afterwards, Dr. Andrew Smith, a medical officer connected with the Government, a highly intelligent and enterprising traveller in South Africa, was charged to present Moshesh with a cloak and medal, in token of his being regarded as a friend of the Government.

Early in 1842, the Rev. Dr. Philip was visiting this part of the country, and suggested the idea of a treaty with the British Government; and in 1843 a treaty was sent by Sir G. Napier, the Governor, and which was signed by Moshesh in the presence of the Missionaries, the principal men of his tribe, and a Government agent. Some remonstrances were made by the Wesleyans against those limits accorded to Moshesh in that treaty, which included Platberg, Thaba Unchu, Merumetsu, and Lishuani.

The emigrant Boers employed all their means to prejudice Moshesh against the British Government, but in vain;

* For some of the above remarks, I have availed myself of a small unpublished pamphlet, given me by Dr. Philip, and I believe drawn up by him.

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for which the Lieut. Governor Colonel Hare, when on a visit at Colesberg, highly commended the chieftain. Potgieter, a leading man among the Boers, endeavoured strongly to detach Moshesh from his connexion with the British, but he remained firm and unshaken.

In 1845, a war with the emigrant Boers broke out, and Sir P. Maitland, the Governor, highly approved of the conduct of Moshesh, who had not suffered his alliance with the British to be violated. It was on his meeting with the Governor at Touw Fontein that Sir P. Maitland solicited a tract of country from Moshesh lying between the Caledon and Orange Rivers, on behalf of the emigrant Boers. This Moshesh conceded, and the Governor promised, on his part, *to withdraw the Boers within those limits*, who were scattering themselves over the country of the chief Shortly after this, another small section of his country was solicited, on behalf of the Government, through Mr. Joubert, for the Boers; and Moshesh, in a friendly spirit that did him great credit, granted that also.

About the end of 1845 or the beginning of 1846, a meeting of chiefs was held at Platberg with a view to some final arrangement of their disputes as to territorial boundaries. It was agreed that a commission should be appointed, and Moshesh was informed by the Governor that it would be sent.

In 1846, a Kaffir war broke out, and Moshesh was invited to hold himself and his people in readiness to assist the British. He made preparations accordingly, and his fidelity and zeal were highly commended by the Government.

At the close of that war, Sir H. Smith proclaimed the Sovereignty, as described in the last chapter, and pronounced that natives should not be removed from the places in which they were then resident.

In April, 1848, Pretorius on behalf of the emigrant Boers, called Moshesh to account for having aided the British. This letter was reported to the Governor, who replied again to Moshesh in high terms of commendation and friendship.

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Government authorities had acted in obtaining these new boundary lines, and defrauding the chief of so much territory. The Governor, however, confirmed this new boundary line, and *thereby deprived Moshesh of an immense and valuable tract of his country;* assured the Missionaries that he knew they were actuated by the best of motives, but thinks they could not form an impartial judgment and do justice to all parties!

We spent a Sunday at Thaba Bossio. The Mission was under the care of the Rev. W. Dyke. Mr. Casalis, senior Missionary of the station, was absent. He had lately proceeded to Europe, on a visit to the Paris Society and his friends. We found good congregations, and, upon the whole, an encouraging state of things, though, for the time, much interrupted and retarded by the political troubles in which the people were involved in consequence of circumstances affecting their territorial rights, as already explained.

During our stay at this station, we went up early one morning to pay the chieftain a visit. We found him busily engaged in hearing a detailed account of an affair which had lately occurred between Pushule, his brother, and Major Warden, the Resident. He was in his native dress, and not as he had appeared on Sunday, at chapel, in good European clothing. Mr. Arbousset, who had accompanied us up the hill, suggested to him that he should make his appearance in a costume rather more befitting the circumstances of a visit, "including that of a teacher from London, the great city of England, where the Queen of Great Britain resides!" Moshesh quietly took the hint, but pleaded as an apology, that the teacher knew he *had* clothes, since he had seen him wearing them on Sunday. However, he went and dressed himself, and in the meantime we walked about the hill, and enjoyed a splendid view of the magnificent Malouti range.

After waiting about an hour, we were invited into the house, and took our seats in an inner room, on a sofa

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covered with tiger-skins. Shortly afterwards Moshesh entered, and several of his people, and filled the room. Mr. Arbousset distinctly explained to Moshesh the objects of my visit—that they had relation to the Missions and the Missionaries, and that I came in no political capacity, nor as a trader. He gave him also an outline of my journey hitherto, and of my anticipated route back to England. I then entered into conversation with him, through Mr. Arbousset as my interpreter. Moshesh remarked, that he had not referred on *Sunday* to the matters on which he now wished to speak, because he knew that that was a day we set apart for our religious services. He then entered into a detailed relation of his connexion with the colony, and of the circumstances of which he thought he had just reason to complain, in the treatment he had received.

This statement of his affairs occupied a couple of hours, when he ordered coffee to be brought in. He again continued his narrative till one o'clock, when he accompanied us to Mr. Dyke's, where he finished what he had to say, and then returned home. He looked grave and earnest, honest and truthful, during his narrative. His people listened with intense interest. They are evidently shrewd and intelligent. They perfectly comprehended the whole matter on which they were conversing. They were quite able to make out a good case for themselves; and though possibly there may be a few points in their statements that would admit of modification, it would yet be most difficult to prove that they have not had hard measure, very hard measure, dealt out to them.

These people have a keen sense of the just and the unjust, the true and the false, and they deeply feel that they have been unjustly and most untruly dealt with, and that too by a Government professing higher and nobler things. They feel helpless against the power of the British, and they are hopeless as to obtaining justice.

It is thus easy to see, under such circumstances, how

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much prejudice is created against the Missionary and his aims. He is looked on as one of the same people. He is a white man, and the white man is found to be rapacious and unjust. If the Missionary expresses dissatisfaction with such measures—and how can he avoid it?—then he is not only obliged to enter into perpetual collisión with the Government, but to make himself of easy access to the native, to listen to all his complaints, to find much of his valuable time consumed in these appeals, and yet to be able to secure for them little or no redress.

And in these French Missions in the Basuto country, there is the additional difficulty, that its Missionaries are French and not English, and have felt themselves placed in the most delicate position, lest as natives from a foreign government they might give offence to the British Government by their interference in the politics of the country. For these prudential reasons, the Directors of the Society in Paris have restricted their agents here from interference in these matters, lest they should at all compromise themselves with the Government, and thereby endanger their Missions altogether.

This has rendered them so cautious, as to awaken occasionally a suspicion in the minds of the natives, that they do not sufficiently sympathise with *them*, or that, if English Missionaries had been on the spot, instead of French, native interests might have been better defended and secured.

Before Moshesh left me to return to his village on the hill, he placed in my hand a written document, most strongly requesting me to bring his case under the notice of her Majesty's Government, on my return home.

It will have been already seen, that I stated his case to Earl Grey in my letters from the colony and the Mauritius. On reaching England, I again stated the case to his Lordship, and I placed in the hands of Lord John Russell, as Premier, the document with which Moshesh had intrusted me, as containing his touching appeal to her Majesty. I

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venture to insert it here, and I am persuaded it will be read with interest, as the earnest and respectful appeal of the man of whom I have said so much in this chapter, to the highest authority in the British realms.

Copy of Translation of Letter from Moshesh to J. J. Freeman.

"*Thaba Bosigo*,
"*February* 14, 1850.

"Rev. Mr. Freeman,

"Sir,—

"When you return to England, and there see your Sovereign, be so kind as to tell her from me as follows: 'I beg of you, O Queen, to receive my respectful salutations. I have had the opportunity of seeing one of your subjects, a teacher from your great town; it is Mr. Freeman.

"'I have poured out my words in my anxiety, even all my words, giving them over to this your subject, and I hope he will keep them in his heart, and will faithfully pour them out in your presence; they are all mine; your ear will hear from him what I have revealed.

"'I say I am quite grateful on account of this man, it having relieved my mind to see him. I was in want of some one who could hear my words, and these I have intrusted to him are not the lie of any one, but a truth of mine indeed. Be pleased to listen favourably unto them, and after having heard how I have spoken to him, do thou, O Queen, act as it shall please you, as it will appear just and proper to you to act in such a way as that my anxiety may be removed. I have ended. Long live in peace, O Queen. I remain your grieved but faithful ally, Moshesh.'

"May you, Sir, prosper in your way, and let God accompany all your steps.

"I am yours,
(Signed) × "MOSHESH.

"*Witnesses*, Molapo, *Son of Moshesh*. Abraham Zeill, *Counsellor*.
"H. M. Dyke, V.D.M., *Interpreter*."

I inclosed the above in a letter addressed to Lord John Russell, of which the following is a copy. I insert it here, as assisting to give a clear view of the whole case.

"*Blomfield Street, Finsbury*,
"31*st March*, 1851.

"To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell,
First Lord of the Treasury, &c., &c., &c.

"My Lord,—

"During a late visit which I paid to the Cape of Good Hope, and

various countries adjacent to the colony, I had much intercourse with Moshesh, chief of the Basutos, and Captain Adam Kok, one of the chiefs of the Griquas, besides others whom I need not now specify.

"The two chiefs whom I have named, expressed to me in the plainest terms, their extreme dissatisfaction with arrangements made by His Excellency Sir Harry Smith, 'Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the adjustment of the territories of these several border tribes,' by which arrangements they were respectively deprived of large portions of their countries, and, as they consider, in an arbitrary and unjust manner. Failing in obtaining redress from Sir Harry Smith, these chiefs and their people have importuned me to bring their case, on my return to England, under the direct notice of her Majesty's Government.

"I have communicated with the Right Honourable Earl Grey on these subjects. I am not certain whether his Lordship is adopting any measures in relation to them; but I beg now to put into your Lordship's hands, as the head of her Majesty's Government, the document which I received from Moshesh, accompanied by a translation, containing the message of Moshesh to her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, authenticating me as the bearer of his message, and his request to me to convey the said message—the substance of which is, that he has been deprived, contrary to existing treaties, of a large portion of his territory, as seen in the accompanying outline of a map.

"I beg permission to remark, that I think the case of Moshesh is a hard case, and for the sake of justice and the peace of the colony, merits an impartial investigation on the spot.

"I beg permission further to recommend the same measure of inquiry respecting the complaints of the Griquas under Captain Adam Kok.

"I trust your Lordship will forgive me in adding my most deliberate conviction, that although with the forces sent from this country to strengthen the hand of the Governor, Sir H. Smith may succeed in putting down the present outbreak of the Kaffirs, nothing will restore tranquillity and secure permanent peace to the colony—nothing will re-create confidence in the minds of the native tribes toward the British Government, but an immediate Commission of Inquiry, that will on the spot patiently hear the complaints, and assure them of her Majesty's wish to afford even-handed justice to all her subjects, and the favourable treatment of all her allies.

"I have the honour to be &c., &c.

"J. J. F."

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In reply to that portion of my letter to Earl Grey, which charges Sir H. Smith with depriving Moshesh of a part of his country, and which letter Lord Grey had sent to Sir H. Smith, he gravely asserts, that he has *not* deprived Moshesh of any part of his country, but merely defined the boundary lines.

I again as distinctly, deliberately, and solemnly affirm, that Sir H. Smith *has* deprived Moshesh of a part of his country, a large and valuable portion of it. The boundary line, as made by Sir G. Napier and Sir P. Maitland, has been greatly altered to the prejudice of Moshesh, against his consent, excepting as obtained by intimidation, and without any compensation. I repeat, with extreme pain and reluctance, that *Sir H. Smith's denial of my charge is not founded in truth*, and cannot bear examination. I appeal from that denial to Lord Grey himself, and to Sir H. Smith's own more deliberate judgment.

To all this, I venture to add, by way of further elucidation, that the boundary lines of the Basuto country, as laid down by his Excellency Sir George Napier, in 1843, and acted on by his immediate successor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, may be stated thus, as an approximation:—its most southern point on the western side is 28½° south latitude; it extends to 31° in the north, and from about 26° 40′ east longitude, to nearly 29°. The country included within these figures is, however, of an extremely irregular shape. It may possibly contain from 10,000 to 11,000 square miles. At least one-fourth of this must be considered as comparatively useless, on account of its lofty, precipitous, and almost inaccessible mountains. There might thus remain about 8000 square miles of territory, fit for grazing, containing large patches of arable land. But from this 8000 must be deducted 1500 at least, for tracts of disputed country, occupied by Mantatees, Barolongs, and others, not recognizing allegiance to Moshesh. And from the balance of country thus left, must now be deducted about one half, as claimed by Sir H. Smith, Chief Commissioner to her

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Majesty's Government for settling the affairs of the border tribes of South Africa, in their relation with the colony: and against which seizure of his territory, the chieftain Moshesh, and his people, bitterly, indignantly, and justly complain.

Leaving Thaba Bossio, we proceeded to Morija, to pay a visit to Mr. Arbousset and his Mission station. The village consists of numerous huts, of a bee-hive shape. There is usually a smaller hut attached to them, like an oven, and which is used as a dormitory. The entrance to the hut is extremely low and inconvenient, being seldom more than two feet high. Several of the people have lately built *square* houses, in imitation of the European residences, and they now like them much better than the old ones. But scarcely any wood is found in the country, and therefore, the difficulty of procuring suitable roofs is an adequate reason for there being but few of this improved structure.

It seems that many of the people have lately removed to a distance. This in part arises from the migratory habit of all these natives, who get tired of living always in the same locality. It arises too, in part, from the occupation of their lands by the Boers, and the late decisions and regulations of the British Government in reference to their territory.

I had an opportunity of a long and somewhat interesting conversation with the chief, Letsie, in the presence of his uncle Paulus Matebe, and many of his people. He came to visit me at Mr. Arbousset's, and Mr. Moffat and Mr. Christie were also present. Letsie the elder, a son of Moshesh by his first or principal wife, is chief of Morija, and a man of considerable importance. He is greatly dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, and considers the Basuto people as injured, oppressed, and despoiled by the measures of Sir Harry Smith, the Governor, in reference to the forcible occupation of their lands. He seems hopeless as to any application to the British Government;

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has no confidence in its honour or justice. He regards nself as injured by a stronger party, against whom re-ess is beyond his reach.

Elia Massika resides here at Morija. He was sent some ne back, as a Christian teacher, to visit the tribe of the asseri; he reached Magalisberg, and was from thence nt back by the Dutch farmers, who refused him permis-on to proceed farther.

It struck me that a second Missionary might advan-tgeously be placed with Mr. Arbousset, whose station s very large, so that a larger portion of his time might e devoted to translation and correcting the press. The ress itself might, perhaps, be placed at Morija: it is ow at Beersheba; but Mr. Roland's hands are too full o permit him to attend to it. I think decidedly, that much more must be done for this Mission by the press than heretofore. The whole Scriptures must be given to the people. The Scriptures may be extensively cir-culated among them. Other books should be prepared and printed as rapidly as possible. The minds of the people must be interested and engaged, or the work, so auspiciously commenced, will prove a failure. In no case, I think, may the living voice of the preacher con-tinue to be a substitute for the written volume of the lively oracles of God. The people must have the sacred volume, and take it home and examine it, as the Bereans did. God must be honoured by the circulation of his Word, and he will put honour upon it, as the means of men's conversion, and building up believers upon the most holy faith.

We left Morija and returned to Thaba Bossio. On our way, Mr. Dyke pointed out to me the village where the native Libey had resided, of whose conversion, in extreme old age, a highly interesting account was forwarded to Paris by Mr. Casalis, and part of which appeared in our "Juvenile Missionary Magazine." The conversion of that old man is one of the most striking instances in modern

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times, of the power of the Gospel. He was one of the most inveterate enemies of Divine truth, but was by its influence softened and subdued. The bold, fierce, hardened barbarian, was made to sit as a little child at the feet of the Saviour. The people who knew the man, and saw the change produced in him, and heard his confession, said, that "it was a miracle." He died about three years ago, upwards of ninety years of age.

On our way to Morija we crossed many "sluits" and "spruits," that is, "water-courses" formed by mountain torrents and small streams, or beds of streams, formed by springs from the mountains. All these run to the Caledon River, which has its source in the "Monte aux Sources," so named by Messrs. Arbousset and Daumas, and which they describe as placed in the northern extremity of the Blue Mountain chain, about 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, about twelve leagues in circumference, with a large table or plateau on the summit, covered with fine vegetation, and which constitutes one of the highest summits of the range. The Caledon, named so after Lord Caledon, flows on the eastern side of this mountain. The native name is Mogakari, that is, "through the middle," because it rolls between the country of the Basutos and Mantatees. The Orange River flows from the same mountain on the opposite side.

There was one part of the road that struck me as remarkable. It was about two hours' ride from Thaba Bossio. On a descent, in an open plain, and before reaching a large torrent-bed, the ground was strewed with agate pebbles for many yards in width, and, as far as we could see, they reached to a considerable depth in the soil. I saw none of great value, though possibly, could we have remained some time, and examined the spot more closely, we might have found many worth collecting, and especially by digging a little way in the ground. Where they could all come from I could not ascertain; many bushels, if not cart-loads, might be gathered. I

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find them, more or less, in all this part of the country—in the river beds, and on the mountain sides, where there is basalt, and on the tops of the mountains. They are found in the basalt, which occurs frequently north of the Orange River, as well as south of it. But very few complete or perfect specimens are met with. The basalt disintegrates by exposure to the air and weather; the agates formed in the interstices or air-holes of the basalt, then fall out and get broken among the blocks and fragments.

I met also at Morija, Mr. and Mrs. Maeder, of the same Mission. Mr. Maeder is an architect, and evidently a man of taste and genius. He superintends the building of the new chapel, which is in progress. It will be an excellent building, quite an ornament to the place, and worthy of a state of society still in advance of the present. Its measurement is eighty feet by forty. Its cost may be about £600; the whole of which has been raised by Mr. Arbousset's exertions, chiefly among friends in the colony, and wholly without touching the Society's funds.

It is an important feature in this Mission station at Morija, that it possesses so much facility for village teaching. There are not fewer then 278 villages regularly visited by various members of the church. These visitors consist of twenty-two bands, and they have allotted to them so many villages as they can respectively undertake to visit. Usually the bands consist of about six members of the church. In fifty-three of the villages there are members of the church residing, some more, some less; most of the villagers, therefore, it is evident, are still *heathen*, though some among them occasionally attend the preaching. The population in the district thus visited may amount to about 12,000, and as these are brought within the sound of Divine truth, through the medium of the station, it is obvious that a very large amount of moral influence is exercised in the country by this particular Mission. A regular account is kept of the villages, the members, and the bands of visitors. There are 320

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members in church-fellowship, and nearly 50 candidates. The station being farther from the seat of war, has not suffered so much deterioration as other stations.

All the Mission premises here were built by Mr. Maeder, and they are very neatly and appropriately constructed. His own house, and study particularly, are models of neatness, in a land so uncivilized. The present chapel is in the form of a T. It has an earthen pulpit, and there are a few earthen seats for the hearers; most of the people bring their seats with them, a very incommodious plan. They are of all sizes and shapes; not a few are the stumps of trees, or roots, which have so grown and are so gnarled, that a person can just manage to sit on them without being tilted over or raised too high from the ground. Timber is obtained for the new chapel, and I presume there will be seats provided of a better kind; for though it is no annoyance or humiliation to a native to sit on the ground, it is opposed to "civilization" and improvement; it spoils good clothes, and makes the wearer less willing to use, or even to obtain them. The first step here in civilization seems to be, putting on European clothing; and the second step is, to sit on some kind of seat instead of the earth.

From Thaba Bossio we proceeded back to Platberg. There I parted with my companions, Mr. Moffat and his daughter, and Mr. Christie, the former returning homeward by way of Bloem Fontein, and the latter to Philippolis. Our parting from each other was a moment in which I believe none of our hearts permitted to say more than "adieu," not knowing the things that might befall us, and conscious that, amidst the distant and changing scenes of life before us respectively, we might not meet again,—till the day when all the generations of the human family shall stand before the great tribunal.

Little did we know at that moment what mournful intelligence awaited Mr. Christie, and which, ere the evening closed in, he would receive. His daughter, an

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amiable and excellent young person, whom he left in health at Cape Town with her mother, under the roof of Dr. Philip, (Mrs. Christie's father,) had imprudently sat up in bed to read by candle-light—fell asleep—the clothes took fire—she was fearfully burnt. Her sufferings were great, though not much prolonged; her gentle spirit was released, and admitted to realms beyond the reach of accident and death.

Mr. Moffat had been my companion now for nearly ten weeks; and I cannot bring myself to close this notice of our journeyings together, without adding a few observations. I found him, wherever we went, possessing a large amount of influence over the native mind. The chiefs and head men almost everywhere know him either personally or by report; and either they, or their fathers, or uncles, had had much to do with him. His ready knowledge of the language, and extremely facile address, are great advantages. He speaks Sichuana more readily than even English, and his Dutch was highly approved. I found him always ready for every good word and work,—ready to take his part in every service, however brief the notice. His mind appeared to me much imbued with a sense of the brevity and fleetness of human life, and of the vast importance of seeking to fill up diligently its remaining portion for the noblest purposes. His heart is set on the translation of the Scriptures into Sichuana. He sees the importance of its being got into early and extensive circulation. His mind is constantly occupied with collecting and comparing words and phrases for the translation, and this becomes with him a topic of frequent and earnest conversation whenever the opportunity occurs of adding anything to his philological stores. In years, he is not aged; in health, though he is yet vigorous, there may be detected some few signs of an approaching and insidious diminution of wonted strength.

From Platberg I reached Mokuatling, Mr. Daumas's station, accompanied by Mr. Dyke. The approach to the Mission-house is through an avenue of syringa trees,

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which have a very agreeable effect. Here are some excellent gardens, both large and productive; and, happily for me, I arrived when many of the fruits were ripe,—apples, grapes, peaches, and a few figs. The garden is surrounded by a good wall, and the vineyard neatly inclosed with reeds. The neighbouring village has been within a few months barbarously destroyed by a Coranna party, under Gert Taybosch. The houses have not a vestige remaining, but the sites are there, and the stone cattle-kraals are there. Gert Taybosch had for some time past, and till recently, lived at Umpakani, Mr. Schreiner's station. He appears to have acted in concert with Sikonyella in this attack on Moletsani's village. Taybosch shortly after left the country and went farther into the interior. For this measure, one reason assigned is, the contiguity of British authority. Bloem Fontein was brought too near the spot he was occupying, and found to be too observant of his marauding schemes.

All this matter requires to be investigated. For the British Government to interfere with the native chiefs, and demand the peaceable arrangement of their disputes, without bloodshed, may be well—a plan full of benevolence and wholesome policy, if faithfully carried out; but to interfere partially, to encourage tacitly one party to attack another, to demand another to sit still while attacked, to allow hostile parties to pass the British territory in order to make an attack, and then to punish a native chief for doing the same thing—all this can cause only jealousies, retaliations, and wrongs.

It may deserve notice, that Taybosch's party on attacking the village respected the chapel and Mission property. They kept at a distance from these; and hence, those of the natives who had taken shelter under the wing of the Missionary were safe. The chief himself was for some time concealed in the house of Mr. Daumas.

The chapel here is suitable and substantial. The seats with which it is filled give it a very neat and even superior

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appearance. There is no room left for any to "squat" on the ground. The Missionaries all appear very familiar with the native language, which is a branch of the Sichuana. The congregation was tolerably good at the time of my visit. The chapel can accommodate about 400 hearers. The church-members amount to about 100. There were no schools being held at that time: the children were *all* engaged in the fields, watching the corn. There are many and extensive plantations of wheat. The cattle graze at a distance, and usually on high ground, so that they do not intrude on the cultivated corn-lands, though none of these are inclosed. Of wild beasts there are none; and even game is now exceedingly scarce: I saw none in the Basuto country.

Having understood that cannibalism formerly prevailed extensively in this part of the country, and that some cannibal cases existed in the immediate neighbourhood of the station, I inquired of Mr. Daumas about it, and he accordingly took me to a large cave that had been a few years ago one of these "dark places of the earth,"—a habitation of cruelty. We rode part of the way and walked the rest, reaching it with no small difficulty. It is near the summit of the kloof or ravine adjoining the Mission station. It cannot properly be called a cave; it is a sheltered spot, immediately under a large ledge of projecting rock, not affording room for any one to stand upright, but where many might find shelter and concealment, in a sitting posture or lying down. Immense quantities of fragments of bones lie scattered about, and fragments of the earthen pots used in cooking the horrid food. A few fragments of the bones, skulls, ribs, teeth, &c., I brought away with me, as humiliating mementos of this awful spot, where many have been the victims of this most dreadfully unnatural propensity.

It appears, that in watching for their victims, these cannibals usually seated themselves on the summit of the hill, and having spied some unfortunate traveller

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[illegible] were [illegible] to [illegible] If there were resistance, they were [illegible] and carried [illegible] they were bound and [illegible] towards the cave, and then [illegible] as [illegible]. The principal [illegible] appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Cana. [illegible] Cana was a Mission station, but has been given up in consequence of the hostility and unfriendly treatment the Missionary received, rendering his further presence there at present unadvisable in the opinion of the [illegible]. The quantities of human bones found there are said to have been awful. All these revolting practices have long since been abolished. Moshesh had steadily and benevolently opposed them, even prior to the Missionaries coming into his country. He had provided the villages where cannibalism prevailed with corn to sow their lands, and milch cows to supply them with milk till their fields yielded a harvest. And by his generous and vigorous measures the enormity has been eradicated.

During my visit to Philippolis in the Griqua country, I embraced an opportunity of going to see the three French Missionary stations in that vicinity, viz. Bethulie, Carmel, and Beersheba. I have purposely reserved my notice of them to this chapter, in order to introduce together the whole of the Missions of the Paris Society.

Bethulie is about fifty miles from Philippolis. Wagons and horses were kindly lent me for the occasion by Henri Vorgaam, one of the people who accompanied Mr. J. Wright and myself. We rested at the farm of Piet Draai at Schraal Fontein, an industrious, intelligent, and prosperous man, who lent us another team of eight horses and went forward himself with us. On reaching the station, Mr. Pelessier and his family were unfortunately absent from home, but we met them next morning.

The locality is well supplied with water, and a large portion of the ground is under cultivation. Lepui,* the chief, lives on the spot, is recognised by Sir H. Smith as

* Sechuana; and signifies a dove.

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lependent, and appears to be a quiet and sensible ıd of man. His district formed originally part of the ·iqua territory, under Adam Kok. It seems to have been rt of the policy of our country to recognise as many tty chiefs as could decently be done, and so to underine the authority and influence of the principal chiefs. ere is a good chapel and school-house, and the attendıce on public worship is, we were informed, encouraging.

"Carmel" is the next station we visited. The locality now comprehended within the British territory. It es within that section of the Basuto country which has een cut off from Moshesh. Mr. Lemue is intrusted rith the care of this station, aided by Mr. Lauga as secuar Missionary. It was intended to form here an in·titution for the training of native teachers and schoolmasters. An excellent and suitable building for that purpose had been commenced a short time before the breaking out of the French Revolution of 1848. As that event interrupted the resources of the Paris Missionary Society, the progress of the building was suspended. The Committee in Paris have, however, authorised the resumption of the works. I lamented to see such a building unfinished, when already so far advanced, and for so important an object. Mr. Lemue left a most favourable impression on my mind as to his adaptation for the work intrusted to him. The native population is small, and will most likely remain so, as the land is now included within the British Sovereignty. Moshesh the chief seems to wish, naturally enough, that his own subjects should retire within the limits that still remain to him.

Mr. Lemue, who formerly resided at Motito, and is familiar with the Kalliharri country, assured me that the remarkable accounts sometimes circulated as to the people of that part of Africa *catching lions by the tail*, and of which, I confess, I was very incredulous, were perfectly true. He well knows that the method prevailed, and was certainly not uncommon among the people.

Lions would sometimes become extremely dangerous.

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Having become accustomed to human flesh, they would not willingly eat anything else. When a neighbourhood became infested, the men would determine on the measures to be adopted to rid themselves of the nuisance; then forming themselves into a band, they would proceed in search of their royal foe, and beard the lion in his lair. Standing close by one another, the lion would make his spring on some one of the party—every man, of course, hoping he might escape the attack—when instantly others would dash forward and seize his *tail*, lifting it up, close to the body, with all their might; thus not only *astonishing* the animal, and absolutely taking him off his guard, but rendering his efforts powerless for the moment, while others closed in with their spears and at once stabbed the monster through and through. All this was done, not for the exciting pleasure of a lion-hunt, or as an exhibition of prowess, but to rid the vicinity of their villages of a dreadful enemy, and to save themselves from becoming in turn the breakfast or supper of this monarch of the desert.

A lion anecdote was related to me, that may be worth recording. A native was rather fearful that ere long he should become the victim of a lion himself, which was known to be in his neighbourhood, unless he got the beast shot. The lion had already been to his house, and destroyed more than one victim. The man then laid a snare. He placed a kid near the door of his house to attract the lion, intending to shoot him while he was attacking the kid; the lion, however, leaped over the kid, as if of no value, or not sufficiently dainty to satisfy his wishes, and then walked deliberately into the house. The man had, however, taken higher views; he had climbed up outside, and was waiting with his loaded gun on the roof, and on the lion's walking *out* of the house, he aimed his gun well and shot him dead on the spot; thankful, no doubt, to have saved himself and his kid.

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We proceeded the next morning, after an early break-st, to Beersheba, the station of Mr. Rolland, and which also an exceedingly well-watered station. The stream om one of the fountains, close by the Mission premises, ives a noble volume of water, which is employed to rrigate the gardens and grounds, and to turn a small orn-mill. The spring is thermal. The village itself, or t least a considerable portion of it, is a very conspicuous bject, consisting of a large number of native huts and kraals, on the sides of the kopjes or hills that abound throughout this district. Many hundreds of the natives have come under the instruction and influence of the Missionary, but they do not change their mode of living, nor do they adopt the European structure of houses. They seem still to prefer and cling to their national *beehive* huts, or hartebeest huts. The latter resembles in structure a cottage *roof*, with gable ends, all *on the ground*. Most of the people that I saw used the kaross or skin dress, with some kind of under garment. Most of them, I understand, are in possession of European clothing, but they reserve these for Sundays. They attend public worship, not only decently, but respectably dressed. Their habits are industrious, and they possess some property in cattle. They are saving and frugal.

We remained under the roof of our friends for the night; and were glad to find a large attendance of people next morning at the native service, which they conduct wholly by themselves. Their singing had a very pleasing effect. Mr. Rolland, who excels scientifically in this department, had trained them well. He is regarded virtually as a kind of chief, and the place is, in the eye of Moshesh, considered as almost belonging to him; and that, by a kind of prescriptive right, Mr. Rolland having been the first to settle there. The first peaceable settlers at fountains have been generally thought to have a paramount claim over them. There are upwards of 450 members of the church here, under the pastoral care

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of Mr. Rolland. Very many can read the New Testament well. He has many cases of deep interest among the members of his flock, and especially of those who some years ago were themselves cannibals, or identified by residence with such as were. About 2000 people are connected with this station. Mr. Rolland has commenced a substantial brick dwelling-house. It is in an unfinished state, but is well worth an outlay to complete it. A new church (or chapel) is being built, of a very substantial character, under the superintendence of a European. It is constructed of stone found in the immediate neighbourhood. The people themselves render important assistance in conveying the stones, &c. Wood is expensive; it has all to be brought from a great distance. The Mission premises are walled in; an excellent garden is opposite the dwelling-house; in front of the latter stands a fine row of almond-trees.

Many of the sandstones here, of which formation this whole country seems to consist, contain nodules of a closer texture, but without any remarkable nuclei. A hill where we outspanned, on the road, appeared to me to consist almost wholly of these nodules and their matrices.

Mr. Rolland, on conversing with me about his station, remarked, that on his first coming to reside here, he was struck with *the almost total absence of children*. The adults were numerous, but there were scarcely any young persons. On inquiry, it appeared that most of the children had been destroyed, thrown away, or devoured, during the wars—wars sustained up to within a very recent date. In trying to make their escape from a pursuing and ferocious enemy, none but women of a very strong and healthy condition could save their infants, whom they were obliged to carry with them in flight; and often, when it was found these infants impeded the mother's progress, and so hindered the escape of the parents, the father would call out, "Throw away that thing," meaning that infant. The command was obeyed, and so the child

rished. The children that are now on the station, d who attend school, are called by the people themves, "gospel children:" a very emphatic and approiate name, as describing how entirely they owe their ry preservation and all the advantages which they now joy, to the influence of the gospel.

I met at Mr. Rolland's, Mr. Keek, also a French Misonary, who was formerly at a smaller station in the nmediate neighbourhood of the cannibals. One cave, t a short distance from his residence, contains still the emains of about sixty huts; their circular foundations re still there. There is a large hollow at the back of he cave, where human bones are very numerous, and where it is concluded that the remains of their victims were usually thrown.

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CHAPTER XV.

NATAL.

JOURNEY TO UMPAKANI, IMPARANI—SIKONYELLA—LIEBENBERG'S VLEI—ELAND'S RIVER—HARRISMITH—BRICK-MAKER—LION SKIN—ROOM FOR FARMERS—HORSE-SICKNESS—DIFFICULT GROUND—MAGNIFICENT VIEW—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—ZOOLU KAFFIRS—CASCADE—PIETER MAURITZBURG—NATIVE POPULATION—FARMS—EMIGRANTS—INDALENI—MR. ALISON—CIVILIZATION—UYSDOORN—DR. ADAMS—CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY—D'URBAN—PORT NATAL—THE BAR AND BLUFF—MR. HOLDER—PANDER—NATIVE FOREIGNERS—AMERICAN MISSIONS—NEW GERMANY—COTTON—SUGAR—LEAVE NATAL FOR CAPE TOWN.

Leaving the country of Moshesh and Molitsani, I proceeded towards the embryo town of "Harrismith," on my way across the Drakenberg to Natal.

I spent an evening, on my way, with Mr. Schreiner and his family, at Umpakani. He was formerly a Missionary in connexion with our Society, but is now in connexion with the Wesleyan Society. The chief here, till lately, was Gert Taybosch. I found he had left the locality, and, it was said, had made the place over to the Wesleyan Society. I much question if it be desirable for any Society to hold more land than is needful for the Mission premises, and strictly Missionary objects; so that, the less the Missionary has to act the magistrate, the better for all parties. Mr. Daumas, from Mokuatling, and myself, remained with Mr. and Mrs. Schreiner till after an early breakfast the following morning. They have a comfort-

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able residence, and are blessed with an interesting and well-regulated family.

We then rode over to Imparani, a Wesleyan station, under the care of Mr. Daniels, near Merabing, the residence of Sikonyella, the principal rival and old enemy of Moshesh. We endeavoured to obtain an interview with him, but were informed he had lately purchased a wagon and had gone some little distance to see the oxen yoked in and tried. After waiting till we thought it useless to wait longer, we left; rode forward for about an hour and a half, when we breakfasted with Mr. Prynne, an English farmer, then residing there, after which Mr. Daumas returned to Mokuatling; and I, having taken my seat on my wagon, set out for "Harrismith," a town newly planned, and so called in honour of his Excellency.

I had now to traverse a piece of country scarcely at all occupied. A strange feeling of solitariness and desolateness pervades the mind of a traveller under such circumstances, especially of one long familiar with crowded towns and cities. Yet these regions *have* been occupied, and the population has been considerable. But war, fierce, deadly war, among hostile aboriginal tribes, has converted peaceful villages into solitudes, and drenched cultivated lands with tears and blood, which, instead of fertilizing, have left them dreary desert wastes.

Ere long, however, these deserts will surely be again re-peopled, and "the earth shall yield her increase." The main difficulties seem to exist in the want of labour, and the restless character of the native tribes in the vicinity. Unless labour can be obtained, the best farms and the most productive soil must remain of small value; and if life and property be exposed to danger, from the inroads and violence of prowling marauders, none but desperate men can venture to settle there.

The only remedy, I apprehend is, *to treat the natives with justice and benevolence;* they will then become peaceful neighbours and industrious labourers, just as already

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thousands of Zoolus, Kaffirs, Fingoes and Basutos have become.

We soon reached Liebenberg's flat, and then the residence of a man of colour, well known in these parts by the name of "Oud Izak"—old Isaac. He gave us information as to our course; and assured us that the roads were good, and, as no rain had fallen, the rivers, and streams would be crossed without difficulty. We found no wood, but abundance of grass—and the cattle enjoyed it. There are neither wild animals nor game. It is a deserted country, where neither man, nor bird, nor beast, can be found.

As we were not fortunate enough to find the best point for crossing one of the streams of the Wilge, our wagon stuck fast on ascending the opposite bank, and it occupied us some time in digging away the earth, so as to break the ascent, and in unloading the hinder part of the wagon. Immediately this was done, we saw three wagons passing a few yards higher up, on our right hand, and which crossed the stream with perfect ease, and we wished we had done the same. But this was the only disaster of the kind we had yet encountered. It occasioned just delay enough to prevent our reaching "Harrismith" that evening. The roads were much worse from the rains that had fallen, and the ground extremely slippery for the oxen. It made me often think of the value of made roads, bridges, and railways—though, when these will all be found in this part of Africa, it is difficult to predict, judging from the present rate of progress.

We reached the Eland's River at midday, and found it a noble stream, with its fine, clear, pellucid waters, —now rolling beautifully along, and smiling in their course, as if almost conscious of their dignity and worth, and now dashing over some rocky ground and heaps of pebbles—basalt, agates, and amygdaloid—emitting sounds that were music to an African traveller, and might tempt him to linger and stray on its banks. Just a spot to invite the Muses—only, it is said to be infested with lions!

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We continued our course along the front of the noble mountain called Tafelberg, "Table Mountain," still wondering that we did not come in sight of "Harrismith."

At length, having reached the eastern side of the mountain, I halted, and determined to leave the wagon and go in search of this new-born town—a future city in our vast empire. Taking my attendant, Andries, with me, we proceeded to an elevation, where I felt sure it must come into view. We were disappointed. Not a spire, nor chimney, nor hut could be seen, and so we walked on towards another elevation. On our way, we came to an emigrant settler, busily employed in brick-making, and from him I learnt, that we had taken the left hand road instead of the right, after we had passed the last stream. We were about a mile from the spot marked out as the town; but no houses are built, nor are any persons residing there, so I did not deem it worth while to proceed further in that direction. We returned to the wagon. It took us three hours to walk there and back. The man we had met was from Armagh, and, feeling sure that there would, ere long, be some houses wanted to make it a town, he was preparing a stock of bricks beforehand, assisted by half a dozen Kaffirs at work, and skipping about under his instruction. The plan of the town was laid out by Mr. Moffat, jun. The buildings amount to considerably above 200, so that it was expected there would shortly be a population of 1000. The streets are all of good width. Lots are appointed for a church and prison, court-house and reading-room. Upwards of 100 of the lots will have a supply of water on the premises; the rest are called dry erven. Several plots were already engaged, and parties were immediately expected to open stores. There seems an abundant supply of water. A fine stream is carried down to the town by a water-course, already constructed. This runs, I understand, a distance of three miles. The Wilge River runs at no great distance, by two sides of the town.

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[illegible] from grazing. The man returned and said the horse was lying on the ground and something by the side of it. "Then," said the farmer, "I know what that something is;" and immediately loaded his gun, mounted a trusty steed, and rode to the spot, when he succeeded in lodging three balls in the monster's side; and the death of the lion was the farmer's recompense for the loss of his horse, for which he had paid £53. He would, I believe, have preferred keeping his horse, and sacrificed willingly the gratification and the glory of killing the lion.

It appeared to me, that a large number of valuable farms might be formed here, and many families obtain a comfortable subsistence. It was now a week since I left Imparani. I must have travelled 130 miles, and I had seen but one farm, or patch of cultivated land, and not a single dwelling-house; yet the land seemed to be exceedingly rich and fertile, well-adapted for grazing. It is true the horse-sickness prevails here in the lower grounds, but on "Table Mountain" plateau, there is an excellent supply

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TAFELBERG, A SANDSTONE HILL IN THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.

SANDSTONE HILLS IN THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.

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of pasturage, and a small lake, that affords an abundant supply of water. The farmer, who formerly lived where I met with the brick-maker, used to take charge of horses during the time of sickness, and received so much per month for the care of them. They were located on the summit of this mountain. The air is so salubrious that none of them died. This horse-sickness is often exceedingly fatal. It is much dreaded by farmers, both in the colony and many places beyond it. It probably arises from some miasma in the low grounds, as in a higher atmosphere the animals are preserved in health.

We had not proceeded far, before our wagon got into a somewhat deep and troublesome sort of quagmire, where our hinder wheel got fixed half-way up. We had to dig away earth in front of each wheel, and to make a petty embankment, to keep the water out that came slowly along from the neighbouring hills, and formed just here a deeper pool than we found convenient. We then lifted nearly all our goods out of the wagon, and by that means lightened our cargo; so we got safely up on the bank, but it detained us four hours. Then we outspanned again, and took our midday refreshments. We had not gone much more than an hour forward, when we met with a second delay. We came to a stream where the bottom seemed too soft and unsound to admit our attempting to cross it. We proceeded a little higher, but there found our oxen and wagon entangled in the labyrinth of a vlei or bottom—a low swampy ground, impassable in the rainy season; and now impassable, though perfectly dry and hard, from the nature of the ground. The water had been absorbed in narrow cuts or channels, so that, over a vast extent of the field, on each side of the central water-course, there are innumerable elevations and depressions. At about every two yards' distance is a new gutter or dry ditch, into which the oxen kept plunging, above their knees, and would then go no further. The wagon also got jammed in. The animals became frightened, and would

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not stir. So, having carefully examined the ground for a considerable distance, and finding it all of the same character, nothing remained for us but to try and get back to the path we had left. We put our oxen to the hind part of the wagon, emptied it of nearly all its contents, and presently got back to the said path. It was already some time after sunset, and there we remained for the night.

Next morning we found a part of the water-course apparently less difficult to pass than in other places, but still requiring some preparation and arrangement, or our wagon would sink deep into the mire. We threw in some dry earth, cut turfs, and laid them on. Stones there were none at hand. I then advised going to a neighbouring kloof in the mountain, where we saw there was wood. I thought we might cut some stout pieces, which we might place on the turfs, and over which the wagon might ride. Off we set, with all the tools we could command,—a saw, a hatchet, a hammer, and a chisel. I selected my tree, and hammered my chisel pretty deeply into it, while Andries and Adam, the two men with me, cut down two other young trees; the saw finished mine, and we succeeded, at length, in getting our road prepared. Our wagon crossed safely, our goods were carried over, and the wagon re-loaded. It was not long before a most extensive and magnificent view burst on our sight. We had not only reached the summit of Drakensberg, but had travelled to its eastern declivity, from whence we saw, to an amazing distance, the Natal side of the country. I could not help exclaiming to our people, as I first gazed on it, "Een andere wereld!"—Another world! for such it really seemed, from the magnitude of the landscape, and its extremely different character from all that we had seen for some months past. We locked our wagon wheel and began to descend, and this step was like a new and not unwelcome intimation that we were actually on our way home and getting nearer to it. We could, of course, see neither the ocean or Port

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Natal; we were too distant yet—too many miles inland, and too many ranges of hills between us and the coast. Nor could we see Pieter Mauritzburg, but we knew that if all were well, we were within five days' moderate journey of it. We then soon reached the point where the *old* path over the Drakenberg commences, and which leads to "Bezuidenhoud's Path." This I was advised *not* to take, though, seemingly, much the nearest to Pieter Mauritzburg. The descent is steep, difficult, and dangerous, especially after the roads had become slippery by rains. We took, therefore, the road on our left, which leads to "Harrismith." We passed three or four farms belonging to colonists, all of them, I believe, Dutch, where the farmers were building their houses, living, in the meantime, in their wagons. They have selected excellent situations. The land is rich,—there is an ample supply of wood for building and for fuel, and they are within reach of good streams of water. The soil seems to consist almost entirely of disintegrated basalt, with a moderate portion of vegetable mould on the surface. The farmers speak well of its fertility. It reminded me of the soil of Mauritius, and appears to be of the same quality; yet I fancy it is too cold here in winter to permit the growth of sugar. The trees consist of the mimosa. They were just then in full blossom, rich in appearance and deliciously fragrant. The farmers are multiplying their cattle rapidly. The whole country here seems well adapted for pasturage. I should think that in a few years' time there will be a large population settled here.

We soon came to a number of huts belonging to Zoolu Kaffirs. Some of the men we saw had the "circle" on their heads, according to Zoolu fashion. The whole of the hair is cut off, and a circle, made of some small reeds, is formed on the scalp, and *actually stitched into it.* It is about half or three-fourths of an inch thick. It looks like a small coil of rope, but is quite black and close-grained. We passed ten or twelve kraals or villages.

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A few of the men occasionally visited our wagon. They came very harmlessly. The only weapons with them were sweet canes, which they seem to enjoy eating. At the same time, I confess I liked to use a little caution. They are cunning fellows, and if not watched might have inconvenienced us by petty thefts. The only clothing they wore consisted of a few ornamental strips of skin hanging round the loins. Some women and children came out of some of the villages to look at us as we passed. The women wore rather more dress, and, I presume, were married. All this country was, till lately, in the hands of natives, but became a land of cannibals. We passed many deserted villages as we went along. These were probably the sites of the aboriginal inhabitants, who were destroyed by the tyrants Chaka, Dingaan, and others, or who were driven to the caverns and the mountains in destitution and despair.

We next came to the Omgeni River, which falls into the sea just above Port Natal. It is low and easily fordable. There is a splendid cascade immediately below the Drift, the finest, by far, of all I had seen or heard of in South Africa. The whole volume of the river falls at once, bodily, over the perpendicular precipice. The direct depth of the *chute*, from the bed of the river where it falls, to the stream through the valley into which it falls, is 273 feet. This depth was given me as having been taken, professionally, by an officer. It is said that the depth of the water at the spot where the cascade falls, is 50 feet, but which I imagine is a mere guess. The effect of the whole is certainly fine, and from some situations it must be still more sublime than from the spot where I saw it. I descended a short distance, and ventured, though with some dizzy sensations and a fear of becoming giddy, to look over the yawning precipice on which I stood. The geological situátion of the locality is striking, and greatly aids the effect of the cascade. It is sandstone, yellowish in colour, and is as if an immense mass of rock had subsided suddenly, and to the depth of some 300 feet, commencing from the part of

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CASCADE ON THE UMGENE RIVER,

NATAL.

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the river where the water falls over, leaving an immense oblong void or chasm, bounded on one side by the fall, and on two sides by perpendicular rock, from which the central portion had subsided. The remaining side or front is open to the valley, into which the water then runs, and where it glides a short distance in a serpentine manner, and is presently hid from view by passing round the hill. The whole is well worthy the efforts of the pencil of a good artist. I tried to make a sketch of it, from which the annexed lithograph has been prepared. It is said, the best spot from which to obtain a good view of the cascade is from a declivity on the opposite bank. I took my position on a part of the flat sandstone forming a portion of the precipitous side of the chasm. I did not venture to stand close, and look over the dreadful void. I laid down, stretched myself out, and then, grasping a jutting piece of the rock, ventured to peep over till I could see the whole fall, and the spot where it reached the boiling current beneath.

On our way towards Pieter Mauritzburg we crossed several fine streams that run into the Litoukela or Tugela, which falls into the sea about fifty miles N.E. of Natal. These gave me the impression that all this part of the Natal country was well watered; and many a spot I passed appeared extremely rich and fertile. The Mooi is one of these fine streams. It is wide and rapid, but we had no difficulty in fording it; but why it is called "The Beautiful," I do not know. It is not more attractive than many other streams which I had passed. It winds through an extensive valley, and falls into the Litoukela.

We then reached within about three or four miles of the town, just about sunset, and remained there till next morning, at a locality called by the very elegant and domestic name of "*Kettle* Fountain."

The next morning was Sunday. I reached the town early, called on some old friends, passed the day with them in public worship and their family circles, and felt thankful to have reached this additional milestone on my jour-

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ney, and to be able to pass a day or two agreeably and usefully in this metropolis of our colony of Natal.

The town is well situated and admirably supplied with water. Streams or water-courses are conveyed through all the streets, and many trees, chiefly syringas and willows, are planted by the houses. There are 400 building lots in the town; many are still unoccupied, but there are already about 1200 European or colonial inhabitants. The servants are principally Zoolus. There are about 100,000 Kaffir Zoolus within the colony of Natal, who are under British protection and authority, but retaining their own usages and having their own jurisdiction among themselves. Many of these are people who have come over from Panda, the Zoolu chief, and voluntarily placed themselves under the British Government. It seems that this large number of aboriginal natives consists of the fragments of many tribes, and their dialects vary exceedingly from one another. The tribes themselves were rooted out and destroyed during the devastating wars of several past years, under Chaka, Dingaan, and others. Panda himself is cruel, tyrannical, and unpopular; his people are glad to detach themselves from him, as often as they can do so with safety. He is reported to have committed lately, and indeed daily, many atrocities among his people. His power is consequently waning, and he is adopting the worst plan to restore it. The natives now settling in the British territory are required to pay an annual sum, of a small amount, on each hut. It has amounted, in the aggregate, to £10,000, and it is applied towards the payment of the civil expenses of the colony.

Emigrants, I was informed, succeed best who come out free and unshackled, having no connexion with any government plans for disposing of the soil, or the arrangements of any companies for that purpose. Artisans succeed well at once. Farmers, or parties disposed to farm, having a capital of about £400 or £500, succeed well. Large grazing farms may be obtained on easy

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terms, say 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* per acre; that is to say, for a farm of 2000 or 2500 morgen—4000 or 5000 acres—from £200 to £350, and smaller farms in proportion. There are said to be certain parties who obtain land on these terms, and then in London make offers of land at the *easy* rate of 4*s.* or 5*s.* per acre, securing to themselves a considerable profit, with little trouble, but placing the purchasers in embarrassment and difficulty on their arrival. The latter have perhaps already expended their capital, and are obliged to take the shares or allotments of land sold to them in England by the parties in question, and do the best they can with them, of however little real value; whereas, if they came unfettered to the spot, and with the same amount of capital already expended, they could choose for themselves with much greater advantage, and even pay a far less price for the farm. The difficulty certainly is, that the allotments in Natal are large, and such as private persons coming out as emigrants, without considerable property, could not purchase. But then it does not seem of much advantage that such persons should purchase land. They cannot stock it, as they have not capital at command. Of course they have not the means of purchasing cattle and a wagon, and also of building a house, and supporting themselves, till they get some crops on sale. Those persons succeed best, who come out, *willing to do anything they can towards their own support*, and who are content to rise beyond their present condition, just as soon as fair opportunities offer of doing so, *and not before.* Those who come proudly or pertinaciously unwilling *to work*, except in some particular direction, and who demand high wages for all they do, or scarcely expect to be obliged to work at all, cannot rise out of poverty and difficulty. All who come willing to work, and resolved to be industrious, sober, and economical, fail not in obtaining competency and comfort.

On quitting Pieter Mauritzburg I proceeded towards Indaleni, a Mission station occupied by the Rev. Mr. Alison, of

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the Wesleyan Society. After travelling a few hours we were overtaken by a heavy mist or fog (reminding one of dear old England), and which compelled us to pitch our tent, that is, to remain in our wagon, and await the next morning. We then crossed two or three small streams, and came to the Ilovo, which runs near Indaleni. This is a troublesome stream to cross. A "comfortable" bridge is in course of building, but the benefit of which did not fall to my lot. I could only see it in the incipient state, and think of the advantages which posterity might enjoy. My oxen were not able to extricate my wagon, which had got fast on attempting to cross the stream. Mr. Alison, to whom we sent forward, kindly came to my relief, and with his fresh and vigorous team, soon put matters straight. I accompanied him in his wagon, and soon reached his residence, where I met with a most kind and hospitable reception. Mr. and Mrs. Alison have been eighteen years in the Mission field, in connexion with the Wesleyan Society, and are familiar with the Hottentot, Griqua and Bechuana Missions, as well as those of the Baharutse, Zoolus and Basutos. Mr. A. was formerly Missionary with Sikonyella, of whom he has not a high opinion, and of whose evil proceedings he was for a long time an eyewitness. He was also stationed among the Amasuazzi, otherwise called Baraputze, and was forced to remove from them by the jealousy of the different tribes, the consequent civil wars that raged, the murders of their people, the famines that ensued, and the imminent danger to which his own life and that of Mrs. Alison were constantly exposed.

At present they are forming an important Missionary station here, on property held by sufferance from the Government. Very many of the natives from the Amasuazzi have followed him from their own country, and gladly settled down with him in this new location, under the instruction of the Missionary and the protection of the British Government. He has about 1200 persons alto-

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gether under his care: upwards of 100 are communicants. About forty of them can read the New Testament well, and many others tolerably. His plan is to have a number both of young men and women under domestic and special training; they live under his roof, and form, in fact, an Institution. At present their number is thirty-six. His direct aim is not to train them as native teachers, but to become intelligent and orderly members of the community; and in this respect the plan succeeds admirably. Beyond this, however, many of them, being constantly under careful and judicious religious training, are brought to an acquaintance with Divine truth, and have given very pleasing evidences of conversion to God.

I met there, during my visit, seven of the natives, who are leading members of the church, and actively employed in visiting the villages, where many of these people are located. There are thirteen villages thus visited. I had, through Mr. A., a long and interesting conversation with them. They replied with much intelligence to my questions, and then asked me several sensible questions about Madagascar, of which they had heard from their Missionary. They then gave me some details of their personal history. Many of the events of their lives are full of interest,—I might say, of tragical interest,—for in most instances they have been exposed to the fury of war and murder, and only preserved by some remarkable interpositions of Providence in their favour. They have fled some four or five hundred miles from their native country to find safety and a home under the wing and friendship of the Missionary.

Next morning, a public service was held. It was a refreshing and delightful sight; there must have been from 150 to 200 present, including a few children. All were decently attired in European clothing, with very few exceptions; and those exceptions consisted of persons who had but just arrived on the establishment, who came literally with nothing, but waited to be employed, that they might earn some wages, and obtain food and clothing. I

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have never addressed a congregation of [illegible] hearers. At the close of the service, Mr. A. [illegible] [illegible] who are now under his immediate [illegible] training. There were about twenty-four young [illegible] twelve young women. About thirty-six are [illegible] [illegible] admit at a time. About twenty or [illegible] [illegible]—some ten or fifteen couples—[illegible] [illegible] every year, on the station; and hence [illegible] [illegible] of the congregation consists of those [illegible] been trained and instructed by the Missionary. [illegible] A. teaches the women, very many of whom [illegible] make their own dresses and their husbands' [illegible] [illegible] &c., besides doing a great deal of [illegible] which is afterwards sold for the support of [illegible] station. The people are building houses for [illegible] selves as fast as they can obtain the means of [illegible] These are square houses, with two rooms, a chimney, [illegible] a fire-place each. They have also a glass window. [illegible] into one of them lately, built by a young man, and [illegible] its sitting and bed-rooms, shelves, chairs, bedsteads, [illegible] books, small looking-glass, cups, &c.,—everything ha[illegible] the appearance of comfort and comparative respectab[illegible] A wonderful improvement all this, in a short time, and [illegible] delightful advance in civilization! All this comes in [illegible] place of oppression and suffering, terror, war, and naked[illegible] ness, famine and profound ignorance. I have a deep per[illegible] suasion that such an Institution is every way deservi[illegible] of sympathy and support, and left the spot with the fu[illegible] impression that the excellent Missionaries themselves, Mr. and Mrs. A. were worthy of most cordial commendation and encouragement. The people seem exceedingly attached to them, and well they may be, for they find in them a father and a mother, instructors, guides, and friends.

Leaving Indaleni, my intention was to visit the Norwegian Missionary station, under the care of Dr. Schroeder, but I did not succeed in finding it. Guides accompani[illegible] us part of the way, when, fearing to have to retur[illegible]

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greater distance, and assuring us that our path was ... and could not be mistaken, they left us and went ... the station.

... presently came to a low, swampy place, having a ...ream running through the middle of it, far too deep ...it the passage of our wagon, and after trying in vain ...d a ford, we deemed it expedient to return on our ... and did so for many miles, and at length reached the ... along which we had come from Petermaritzburg, in ...way to Indaleni. We continued along this road to ...n about seven or eight miles of the town, and reached ... Omlazi, at the ford where I had parted with Mr. Bu...ian and Mr. Ainstie three days previously, on my way ...ndaleni. But here was a great change in the state of ... river. *Then* we had no difficulty in crossing; now it ... impassable. The late heavy rains had made it a for...dable torrent, that would have carried away oxen, wagon, ...d all, had we attempted to pass. A farmer from Scot...id, residing on the spot, advised me to wait till morning, ...hen, if no new heavy rains fell, I should be able to ford ...ie stream higher up. I accordingly remained for the night.

The next morning proved remarkably fine; scarcely any ...ain had fallen during the night, and the stream had fallen ...nore than four feet. About 10 o'clock, to my great surprise, Mr. Alison arrived with two of his people. They had felt anxious as to my position. He guessed I should be here; but fearing lest I might have attempted to cross the stream and met with any accident, he had kindly rode forward to make inquiry. As the water was now sufficiently low to justify the attempt to cross, and might possibly so increase as to detain me long, if rain should again fall, I set out and reached the proper part of the stream for fording, where we got over without any serious difficulty; and it was a welcome sound when, having got over, I heard Mr. Alison exclaim, "Now you have passed your last difficulty," meaning, that I had no further streams to interrupt me on my way to Port Natal.

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Disappointed in not being able to find the Norwegian station, we continued travelling for about five hours, meeting with no obstruction; and then, seeing cattle, horses, and a house at a little distance, we made towards the spot, hoping it might be the place of which we were in search. However, it proved to be the residence of a Dutch farmer, from whom I learnt that Dr. Schroeder's station was at a great distance; that we were fairly in the path that led to the high road for Natal; that the Port was still two long days' journey distant; that we had yet to cross the "Omlazi" twice before reaching there; but that we should find the American Mission station of Dr. Adams on our way. We proceeded on our route till sunset, and placed ourselves by the roadside for the night. It was a dreary and uninviting country through which we were now passing. The land looked poor, and wood was scarce. We passed the spot which is called "Uysdoorn," the "thorns, or thorn-bush of Uys," the name of a Dutch farmer. This I understood was a piece of land that had been selling in England at 5*s*. per acre!—a further proof, as it appeared to me, and many others, that emigrants would do best not to make any purchases or come under obligations in England, but to carry their money with them, and to choose and act for themselves on the spot. I found that many who had lately come out to this colony contemplated returning to England without delay, disappointed and disgusted with all they have met with. They must have raised their expectations too high, and have shrunk too soon from inconvenience and difficulties. A remark which I have heard made in reference to emigrants, is, I think, just—that "there are few who, within the first few months of their residence, do not wish to return; and but very few who do wish it, or who would be willing to do it, after a three years' residence."

Continuing my journey towards Port Natal, I met Dr. Adams, the American Missionary, when about two hours' distance from his residence. He and Mrs. Adams had left

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home on account of indisposition. They both appeared to me exceedingly unwell, and requiring a change. They were now on their way towards Petermaritzburg, and were intending to proceed towards the Drakenberg, but which they did not contemplate crossing. I was sorry to lose the opportunity of passing a few hours in their society, and ascertaining from them, on the spot, the state and prospects of the American Missions. However, I hoped to be able to see Mr. Lindsey, who resides within a few hours' ride of the Bay, and Mr. Wylder, who is still nearer. Dr. Adams has removed to this station within the last three years, from the banks of the Umlazi, and his station still retains the same name.

We passed his settlement in the course of the afternoon. It has a pleasing and cheerful appearance. I stopped and conversed with the assistant teacher, who had been with him fourteen years, from the commencement of the Missions, and with another native, both of whom understood English. The former spoke it with a good deal of fluency. They were both natives of the Zoolu country.

And now again, much of the country through which we were passing was exceedingly beautiful. Having reached the summit of a lofty eminence, a scene of surpassing grandeur and magnificence burst at once on our view, including the whole country between us and the sea, the dim and hazy outline of which we could catch, at a distance of twenty-five to thirty miles. The country, stretching far away to the north and south, appears to be all of the same character, and a good deal resembling that of Kaffirland, to which indeed that in the south is contiguous.

The elevation of the country here may be about 1000 feet above the level of the sea. The hills are gentle, soft, rounded, and well wooded, always covered with grass, and occasionally with wood, to the summits. It seems just the country to attract and satisfy emigrants. The soil also is good, the grass is excellent, and all the materials for building are here. The streams are pretty numerous; and as

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the grass is always green, as I was informed, the rains must be abundant. Here would seem to be room for many hundreds of farms; but how far this part of the Natal district is actually engaged and occupied, I cannot say.

After a long and fatiguing day's ride, I reached Port Natal in the evening. Owing to heavy rains the streams were all full, and the roads extremely heavy, and especially as we drew near the town of D'Urban. It is a long and tedious ride down by the side of the bay. Then having found a quiet and shady nook, at the entrance of the town, and having unyoked the oxen, and taken a little refreshment, I set out to find Mr. Holden, the Wesleyan minister. I succeeded in doing so, and accompanied him to chapel in the evening, where he delivered a solid, useful, and practical discourse. My intention was to take a night's rest at the hotel (Macdonald's), near his house. However, the house was full, and I could get no accommodation, neither could I find my way back to the wagon; so, fatigued with wandering about, I returned to Mr. Holden's, where I remained for the night, thankful to find the advantages of civilized life, and of Christian friendship.

I ascertained there was a vessel in the bay, "ready for sea," the *Hannah*, and she had been so for three weeks, but detained all that time, waiting for sufficient water to cross the *bar*. Three or four vessels were waiting outside, ready to come in, but could not, for the same reason. It seemed that, at present, only six feet of water could be found, even at high tide; and as even small vessels draw more than that, all are detained. This was regarded as an *unusual* circumstance, and accounted for by the long prevalence of strong southerly winds, and the absence of rains. In consequence of the former, an immense quantity of sand is thrown up on the bar; and in consequence of the latter, the quantity of water carried *down* from the land into the bay, had been insufficient to carry off this large accumulation. Spring tides would occur the next week, and it was confidently hoped there would be suffi-

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cient water in the bay to carry the vessels over it, both for those within and those without, and I accordingly took my passage on board the *Hannah* for Table Bay.

During my stay at D'Urban I had the pleasure of remaining under the hospitable and friendly roof of Mr. and Mrs. Holden, where I met Dr. Schroeder, and also Mr. L. Grout, the latter of the American Missionary Society, whose station is about thirty miles distant, but which I did not visit, partly because I was daily expecting the *Hannah* to sail, and partly because my oxen were too fatigued with their long journey to bear any further burden at present.

The American Society, I found, had twelve Missionaries labouring among the Zoolus, all within the Natal colony. Panda, the Zoolu chief, will not admit a Missionary within his own territory. He is said to be actuated by a jealous fear of losing his influence among his own people in proportion as Europeans, under any circumstances, obtain such influence. There is no doubt his power would be undermined, just as his people become enlightened and Christian, and just as all arbitrary and despotic Governments must be modified as subjects become intelligent: he would not be able to maintain the same despotic, cruel, and unreasoning authority which he now exercises. The revolting customs of the country would be abandoned, and the reign of terror would cease. Were he also to become a Christian the difficulty would vanish. The character of his government would be changed. Mildness, reason, and mercy would become its elements, instead of its present ferocity and cruelty. And then he might retain his influence and use the whole of it for good. However, that does not seem to be the plan of Providence, and the change in the condition of his people is being brought about by another process. His cruelties are detaching them from him, and thereby his power is weakened. Those who leave him come over to the British territory, and many of them within the reach of Christian influence, especially in connexion with the Missionary Institutions. It may not be long before the

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British Government may be in a position, if necessary, to dictate terms to Panda himself. He will sink to an insignificant and petty chieftain, without ability to destroy his people as he is now doing. Then, by the dissolution of his authority and power, a way may be opened for the advancement of his people in knowledge, civilization, and Christianity.

I found about 400 or 500 persons, European and colonists, resident at D'Urban. The exact number of Zoolus in their service was not known. They are numerous and willing to work. Their wages is 5*s.* per month, with provisions, which may amount to about 5*s.* more. The men only come in to work. Scarcely any of their women do, and many of the men only work till they have obtained enough to enable them to purchase an ox or a cow, and therewith to purchase a wife! They are said to be exceedingly trustworthy. They are often sent with money to a great distance, and are faithful to the trust committed to them. Still it is an anomalous state of things. Here are 100,000 of them living within the British territory of Natal, yet without chief or ruler of their own. If any cases of offence or dispute arise, they are brought for the most part under the notice of Mr. Shepstone, Diplomatic Agent for these tribes, and are settled by him. As already remarked, they retain their own customs, but are not allowed to put any persons to death for witchcraft, as formerly, among themselves, nor, indeed, for any offence; but they have not been instructed to consider themselves as wholly under British law. They are "native foreigners," and have no permanent right given them in the soil. They have no lands which they can properly call their own, nor does it appear to be the intention of the Government that they should have any. The present capitation tax which they pay is simply a recognition of the British sovereignty over the country in which they are permitted to dwell. They are not the aborigines of this territory. They, the aborigines, have perished. The present tribes are simply occupants,

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and cannot *claim* to be here without some payment in support of the Government whose protection they enjoy. They are located by the Government, and on these locations they cultivate lands and build their native huts. Very few of them would build any other or better kind of habitation, whatever security they might have in the soil. They are not, therefore, put into a worse condition by the present state of the tenure on which they are suffered to reside in the territory. The truth is, till they become in some degree Christians, they adopt none of the customs and habits of civilized life. They prefer their own. To put on any European dress is an indication of a change of *mind*, involving the abandonment of heathenism; and this involves so much, that they will not hastily do it—especially the renunciation of polygamy.

D'Urban, the rising town of Port Natal, is laid out for 450 allotments, and if each of those had a household of five persons it would give a population of upwards of 2000, besides the floating population of Zoolu servants. Some few of the houses are good and substantial. Several others are in course of erection, but for the most part they are very fragile and temporary. Many scores of these have been put up within the last three or four months. The streets are all laid out on a given plan, and all the houses are built in conformity with the plan; yet scarcely anything of uniformity appears as yet. Only the main line can be seen. The new Wesleyan Chapel and the Government School were the only good buildings in the town. Here are many extensive stores, which are comparatively well supplied. A large amount of business is carried on, and some property has been already realized. A few parties are said to have made fortunes. This is not the seat of Government for the district. It is simply the seaport: Pietermauritzburg is the metropolis. The main difficulty in the way of the prosperity of this young colony appears to be the *bar* already spoken of. But efforts are being made to obviate this difficulty. The main thing to be

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accomplished is to secure a narrow outlet from the interior bay into the sea, by which means the bar or sand-bank would be sufficiently washed down and kept down to allow vessels to pass out. At present the sea comes in and spreads over a bay of about ten miles circumference, and in going out spreads over an immense piece of sand before going into the ocean itself. There is, however, a projecting point or promontory opposite to the "Bluff;" and to defend that point from being washed away and to carry it out somewhat further and create a bank there, with bushes, stones, &c., filled up with sand, are the works contemplated.

I accompanied Mr. Holden to visit Mr. Wylder of the American Society, a few miles distance, and who has charge of the printing department of that Mission, and a very effective and well-conducted department it appeared to be. The brethren of that Mission were directing their attention to the subject of an uniform orthography in the native languages of this part of South Africa, a subject on which I was glad to find them occupied, as the Rev. Mr. Venn and other friends of the Church Missionary Society in England had been with especial reference to the languages of Western Africa.

We passed on our way through some lovely country and most productive soil. Mr. Holden held a service at a small Kaffir village, in the open air, at which about forty persons were present. Mr. Holden spoke in Dutch, and it was fluently translated into the Zoolu by a native interpreter. A class meeting was afterwards held. About twelve of those present are in full communion. Some of the women present, had on the first European dresses they had ever worn. Most present were decently and comfortably clad. A few men were there, still heathens, and retaining their heathen customs as to dress. It was altogether an interresting and encouraging service. One kind-hearted woman as soon as she heard we were coming prepared a Kaffir meal for us—a pot of sour milk, some Kaffir corn bread,

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and some Kaffir tea. The milk had not long been taken from the cow, was added to a small quantity that was left in the bag used for the purpose, and exposed a short time to the sun. It thus becomes fit for immediate use, and is agreeable and refreshing. The bread was fresh, crisp, and good: we broke it in small pieces, and ate it mixed with the milk. The tea is made from a native root, and is by no means without a pleasant flavour: it forms a very good substitute for our China teas, on such an occasion.

Mr. Holden and myself rode over to see the new station formed by German emigrants, and called "New Germany." It is the cotton-growing establishment introduced by Messrs. Young and Co. It is about ten miles from D'Urban. Our road to it lay between Berea woods. These are said to be still infested with elephants, so that no person likes to venture after sunset through the path, nor will even the "elephant hunters" enter the jungle, it is so extremely dense. There is no open space in which the elephant could be seen at a distance. If found, the hunters would come on them suddenly; and as taking them by surprise is dangerous, unless there is room for escape, the pursuit is too hazardous in the present state of the forest. Having passed through the forest, the scenery becomes not only beautiful but enchanting. From some elevated points the view is very extensive. We passed some fine cotton fields connected with the German station. They appeared to me to be yielding a large crop. Many persons were employed picking the cotton, but very many more, it struck me, ought to have been *getting it in at once*, while ripe and ready, lest rains should set in and spoil it.

We found the Missionary at home, and spent a few hours with him; he was some time since in Kaffirland, now British Kaffraria. The Mission is sustained in part by the Berlin Society, and in part by Messrs. Young. There were thirty-five families in the settlement, consisting of about two hundred individuals. They were all poor on leaving Germany; but are now raised above any circum-

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[illegible] of [illegible] or [illegible]. [illegible] has the secular management of the settlement. The land belongs to Messrs. Young. The emigrants who are all Germans, have hitherto paid nothing for the land. They have been encouraged to come out and settle down as colonists, and when they are thought to be sufficiently advanced they will begin to make some payment. It is considered by some, that each family could already pay from £[illegible] to £[illegible] per annum. There are a small neat chapel and a school on the establishment. All the adults attend public worship. The Missionary entertains a confident persuasion that much good is being done both among the Germans and the Kaffirs who are under his care. So satisfied with their prospects were the Germans on the settlement, that they had sent home some of their number to represent it among their friends, and to encourage them also to come out. There is ample room for an immense number, and especially if they can be supported for the first year, and in part for the second also. By that time they may have brought land enough under cultivation for the support of their families, and in two years more they may be in circumstances of great comfort, and assist in raising produce, such as cotton, &c., for exportation.

At length, after many delays, many attempts to get away, many anxieties and regrets, the *Hannah* got fairly out of the inner bay, though not without some risk even then of her being lost outside; the passengers all embarked, we hoisted sail, and had the prospect of a good passage to Table Bay. I took leave of Natal, much gratified that I had been able to pay this new colony of Great Britain a visit. It has fallen into the hands of our country by a succession of events that would seem to indicate the necessity of our taking possession of it. Originally it belonged to the native Zoolus. Chaka gave up a large section of it, by sale, to Lieutenant Farewell and his party. That arrangement finally dropped through. Chaka was killed by Dingaan his successor, and he in turn by Panda. The Dutch emigrants

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from the Cape colony got possession of the country, and were erecting it into an independent republic, with no little hostile feeling towards Great Britain. They had much to complain of—their manifestos deserved the ear of Government; but not finding the redress they claimed, they placed themselves in an unfortunate attitude of defiance, and were beaten. Such as chose to remain were allowed to do so, and fall under the authority and protection of Great Britain. Nearly all preferred to retire. They have gone far into the interior. Natal became an unoccupied country; emigrants from Great Britain soon flocked there in large numbers, and now it is filling up, has its own local government, independent of the Cape, and promises to become a flourishing settlement.

Most contradictory reports respecting it have been circulated, which it is not my business to reconcile and harmonise. I can state only what I saw and what I heard on the spot. I saw much beautiful land, rich soil, numerous streams, and extensive forests. I found the air salubrious and pleasant, and I witnessed the rising prospects of many families. I often said to myself as I passed through the colony, "Were I now proposing to emigrate, I would select Natal as the sphere of my enterprise."

I met parties from Mauritius, who had come to examine *its capabilities for growing sugar*, and they pronounced it to be unsuitable: as the soil, they said, was not well adapted to it, and the labour to be obtained too difficult and uncertain. All this might be true, I thought, as compared with Mauritius; and yet I am persuaded much sugar might be produced there. As to cotton, the experiment has been made, and it is not a failure, and abundance of it may be raised. The obtaining of labour will much depend on the treatment the Zoolus receive from their white employers. Treat them kindly, and pay them fair wages, and there will be no great difficulty in procuring labour.

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ference, the Boers, who emigrated from the colony, would have absorbed his country, and reduced him and his people to slavery,—a thing which it appeared to him they had aimed at, and he feared, in some cases, still aimed at." I explained to him, that while I thought the general measure of the "sovereignty" and the supremacy of British rule had been a blessing to the country and the native tribes, by preventing their mutual destruction, they were yet attended with much injustice towards individuals, and involved the sacrifice of many rights, which he himself would not have committed, had he taken more time in forming his decisions.

He thanked me for having called and held this conversation with him. We shook hands and parted. However, I thought it right to communicate my views to Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies; my letters to his Lordship have already appeared in a former part of this volume.

The great thing which I then believed and still believe to be essential, is—*strict, impartial, and patient inquiry*—inquiry from home, instituted by her Majesty at the recommendation of Parliament; inquiry conducted on the spot, and where the aggrieved parties might be fully heard in stating their own case. Such inquiry, I apprehend, should embrace all the facts relating to Kaffir affairs with the colony for the last seventeen years at least; the causes of the failure of the "Glenelg" system—if a failure there were, as affirmed by some; the expenses and management of the war of 1846-7, under Sir P. Maitland, Sir H. Pottinger, and Sir H. Smith; the dissatisfaction existing among Kaffirs, Tambookies, Griquas, Basutos, and Hottentots; and how individual cases of hardship may be rectified, so that the friendship of the native tribes may be secured, instead of their sullen hatred.

Many things, also, in the "sovereignty," appeared to me to merit investigation, especially with the view of preventing the recurrence of similar proceedings, such as the

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suppression of alleged cases of murder; the mode of trial there for grave offences; the use of commandoes; the distribution of children and others for forced service, by British authorities, among the farmers; and the treatment of the aborigines by the Boers as they advance into the interior.

With regard to cases of alleged murder, I have already adverted to one. I may just allude to another, as related to me:—A farmer, angry with a native (a Barolong), took up a musket, and intended, as the man believed, to shoot him. The Barolong, being a stout man, wrested it from him. The farmer begged to have it returned. The man refused to deliver it up, on the plea that the farmer would shoot him. This he promised solemnly not to do, assuring him that his anger was now appeased, and he would do him no injury. After some little delay, the Barolong gave it up. The farmer took it, retired a few paces, turned round, and shot the man dead on the spot. Then, fearing it might turn against him, if reported, he fled, and concealed himself for some time. Meantime, he sent one of his servants, a Bushman lad, to Major Warden, to make an affidavit that the gun had gone off accidentally, and killed the man! This was reported, I was informed, to the Attorney-General, whose opinion was, that there was no case against the farmer, and that he might return to his farm. He did so, and no further notice of the case has been taken, nor investigation ever made. The Barolong's brother was a spectator, and could have given evidence, as well as others also.

Before leaving the colony, I waited upon his Excellency the Governor, and I did so, partly that I might have the pleasure of introducing the Rev. Mr. Thompson, as the Society's agent in Cape Town, on the retirement of Dr. Philip from office, and partly that I might bring before Sir H. Smith the case of the Gonah Hottentots, as described in my chapter on the Kat River Settlement.

Perhaps it would be scarcely fair to pass over, without

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some notice, the affair of Government grants for education. I had several interviews with Dr. Innes, Superintendent of Education in the Government Schools, and through whom the usual grants from the Government had been made to some schools in connexion with our Missions.

The total amount granted from the Colonial Treasury for these purposes of education has been about £2000 per annum, of which about £300 had been paid in connexion with schools more or less identified with our Missions. As this was found not to be in harmony with the views entertained by many of the Society's friends in England, the amount has been wholly declined for our schools in future. Yet, comparatively small as the sum is, I did not feel authorized to draw on the Society for it, in the present state of its funds, and with positive instructions from the Directors to reduce the expenditure of the South African Missions £2000 a-year below the average of the last ten years. And yet it would be a hard case, a cruel case, to deprive the people of the means of educating their children. They are not able themselves to bear the expense of it, and some parties must afford them aid, or they "will perish for lack of knowledge." I think, in the final arrangement, however, of this matter, neither the Directors nor their constituents are compromised. Government will still make grants to schools; but no longer as Mission Schools at all. They will be *district* schools, having their own local committees and treasurers, and providing for their own expenditure.

I left the Cape for Mauritius on 13th July, on board the "Susan Crisp," Captain Holdsworth. Mr. Peter Le Brun was my fellow-passenger. Nothing of remarkable interest occurred during the passage, and we came in sight of land early on the Sunday morning of 4th August; but it was not till next morning that we came to anchor in Port Louis. By the aid of the telescope we could see Mr. Le

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Brun standing on the verandah of his house and looking at us. I had apprised him, by a former vessel, that I was coming by the "Susan Crisp," and he immediately recognised our signals. He presently came off in a boat, and James Andrianisa, one of the Malagasy refugees, accompanied him. As soon as the medical officer came on board and found all well—no disease on board, no occasion for quarantine—we quickly landed, and in a few minutes I found myself comfortably housed and kindly welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Le Brun in their own residence, where they had prepared two rooms for my reception and residence during my visit.

David Ratsarahomba, another of our Malagasy refugees, and a truly excellent young man, known to many of our friends in England, and beloved wherever known, had died on the preceding Friday, only two days before my arrival in Mauritius. He had been anxiously awaiting me for some time, and had written to me to urge my coming to Port Louis, but was summoned to his rest without the gratification being afforded us of meeting each other again on earth. I felt it to be a disappointment. I should have been glad to have had the opportunity of conversing with him again. He could have assisted me much in drawing up some outline of events in the History of Madagacar and its persecutions, subsequent to the period at which the history closes, in the volume already published. His removal is a loss to the natives, his countrymen in the colony, for whose welfare he was diligently laborious.

In the evening I accompanied Mr. Le Brun and his family to chapel. It was the Missionary prayer-meeting, and was excellently attended. The chapel I liked much. I had been to see it with Mr. P. Le Brun during the afternoon. It is a substantial building, and well situated, both for quietness and for the convenience of the population attending. It is inclosed with stone walls, and has a small piece of ground attached to it, planted with shrubs and trees, at once ornamental, and, by their agreeable shade,

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highly useful in the hot season. The chapel is neatly pewed, and can accommodate about 500 persons. There are not at present any galleries. I understood, however, that the chapel was often so crowded on a Sunday morning, that it was in contemplation to erect galleries, as soon as sufficient resources could be obtained. The Monday evening congregation was to me a very gratifying sight. Mr. Le Brun, jun., read a portion of scripture, and offered prayer in French. His father then gave a brief address from the 72nd Psalm, and introduced me as an old friend, formerly Missionary in Madagascar. Many Malagasy were present on the occasion. Mr. Le Brun requested me to address them. I felt a little uncertain whether, as I had not delivered any discourse in the Malagasy language for several years, I should be able to command more than a few words. I scarcely thought my memory would serve me for the occasion. However, I succeeded better than I expected, and spoke for some few minutes, assuring them of the pleasure I felt in meeting so many of them as natives of Madagascar, and in meeting them assembled for prayer, and in so convenient and excellent a place of worship. At the same time, I assured them I felt grief in the death of Rafaravavy, and now of David Ratsarahomba, whom I had expected to meet, but who was just removed from them before I reached the island, and also in the painful circumstance that Madagascar was still closed against all our efforts.

I find that those who were formerly slaves in the island are not now engaged in the manufacture of sugar. They require, it is affirmed, far higher wages than the planters can afford to give, so as to secure remunerating prices. Of course a very large proportion of those who were slaves have died off during the fifteen years that have elapsed since the emancipation. The rest are either domestic servants or live on small plots of land, which they hire, where they raise and sell fruit and vegetables. The sugar is now manufactured chiefly by the labours of the immi-

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grant Indians, whose wages are much lower than those demanded by the Creoles. The latter ask five dollars per month, which is equal to 5*s*. per week; the Coolies from India do not receive more than half that sum. They consequently expend less on food. In fact, their nourishment is extremely meagre—in many cases it is quite insufficient for the demands of nature; and hence it has been thought, that the rapid mortality which takes place among them, may be accounted for. It would be well that statistical information on these points should be obtained and published. There had been a large recent arrival of labourers from India. The number of Coolies in the island is said to be 60,000. Many of them are so well satisfied with their work and wages in Mauritius, that they return a second, and even a third time for employment. They are extremely frugal; they save their earnings, and carry home the amount to India. There is also a large number of Chinese residing here as artisans and petty shopkeepers. They occupy almost one entire side of the Bazaar, or public market, where they sell salt provisions. A Chinese temple has been erected here.

I waited on the Governor, Sir William Anderson, at Reduit. I found him at home, and entered into conversation with him at considerable length on the subject of Madagascar. There is not any plan or arrangement at present on foot that awakens the hope of friendly relations being again established with the Government of that country. He informed me that he had been in correspondence with the Malagasy Government, and had expressed the wish to be again on friendly terms, for the purpose of trade; and the answer which he had received was couched in friendly terms—more so, in the opinion of Captain Dick, late secretary, than the Malagasy communications had been for some time past. The Governor had suggested to Lord Grey the propriety of sending a present to the Queen and her officers, as one means of resuming friendly relations. His Lordship had not approved of the plan, but thought

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that ere long the Malagasy themselves, feeling the want of trade and commerce as the only means of improving their resources, would be induced to seek, of their own accord, some friendly relations with the British Government. This is a mistake, arising from the want of a more accurate knowledge of Madagascar. The Queen obtains all she wishes, by pressure on the people. The officers obtain booty, and a share in all confiscations: the people become impoverished, abject, and dispirited. This is no cause of anxious concern or generous regret with the native Government, whose policy is selfishness.

There are several natives of Madagascar residing in Port Louis. They have for the most part lived in Mauritius many years, and were formerly in slavery. I discovered this while inquiring of them if they had families. There were seven or eight women present. They replied, that they had not; that they had *had* families formerly, but their children were taken from them when young, and distributed or sold they knew not whither; in fact, they had no means of knowing whether they were still living or not!—one of the horrid, inhuman results of slavery. Many of these people are members of Mr. Le Brun's congregation; some of them are communicants. They retain the native custom of bringing a present on coming to pay a stranger a visit. On calling to salute me on my arrival, they brought pigeons, fruit, and eggs.

As soon as I conveniently could, I went to visit our Mission station, Moka, in the Moka district. That name was originally given to it from the excellence of the coffee grown there, as resembling that sold in England from "Mocha." The actual distance of the village from Port Louis is not more than five or six miles across the mountains; but it is not less than twelve round the mountain of La Pouce, at the back of which it is situated. The walk over the hill is difficult and fatiguing, and I was unwilling to venture it. Mr. J. J. Le Brun is stationed there. The spot on which the Mission premises are placed contains

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about eighteen English acres, bounded at one extremity by a valuable stream or small river, La Baptiste, so called, it is said, from the number of persons who have been accidentally drowned in it, when crossing it after heavy rains, and when, of course, it is considerably swollen. The late Rev. D. Johns purchased the property on behalf of the London Missionary Society, as an asylum for the Madagascar refugees. At present the house, used as a chapel, was the dwelling-house occupied by Rafaravavy, and the Missionary dwelling-house was occupied by Mrs. Johns. Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Le Brun now reside there. It is humble, inexpensive, and not very durable. The locality is excellent. The place is salubrious, and well supplied with water. It was, when purchased, covered with wood; but it is now cleared, and occupied with gardens and plantation-grounds. I found a new chapel in course of erection. It is built of stone, and will accommodate about 300 persons. The stone is found on the property, and has been wrought on the spot by masons, under the direction of a master mason, who was originally a native of Madagascar. He also superintends the carpenters' and builders' work. It will cost altogether £1000. The people themselves, although poor, have contributed liberally, and they have been aided by the contributions of many, including £100 from the London Missionary Society. It may be, that about £500 would have sufficed to build a chapel of *wood;* but this is deemed most undesirable, if not indeed a waste of property, partly on account of the destructive ant, called the carrier, and partly on account of the destructive hurricanes, to which all buildings in the island are exposed.

Mr. Le Brun, jun. mentioned, in the course of conversation, a very satisfactory commendation of the people, chiefly Malagasy, under his care at Moka. Some of them, when lately appearing before the superintendent of police in that quarter, were addressed by that officer in the following manner:—"Oh! you come from Mr. Le Brun? Very good; then I know it is all right. I know your busi-

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ness—it is about marriage, or the registration of the birth of your children. When others come, it is usually about robbery or some offence; when you come, the affairs are easily arranged."

I was much pleased with all I saw here of Andrianado and his wife, natives of Madagascar. They appear to sustain fully the character I had heard of them as intelligent, consistent, and earnest Christians. He is named David Johns Andrianado, after our late devoted Missionary. His wife is called Mary, and their daughter Mary Anne. They have left two children in Madagascar, about whose welfare they are very anxious. He is desirous of going over to Madagascar, to make inquiry as to the state of the Christians, and thinks he can manage to do so without detection. Of course it incurs some risk; and yet, if he could succeed in doing it, it might be worth while to run that risk. They live here in a neat and small cottage on the Moka property. He is allowed a salary as a native teacher, of about £2 10*s*. per month,—rather less than is necessary.

I passed the Sunday at Moka in a manner which was to me replete with interest. We had a congregation in the morning of about 130 persons, principally adults, to whom I spoke in Malagasy. Simeon, who was formerly in England as one of the refugees, offered an excellent and appropriate prayer at the commencement of the service. In the afternoon I walked over to "Nouvelle Découverte," where I found a neat chapel, built by the people themselves, and a congregation assembled, amounting to nearly 100, most of them being natives of Madagascar, though not recently arrived in this island. After service I walked back again to Moka. The distance is about seven miles. Nearly twenty of the people accompanied Mr. Le Brun and myself there and back again. The good folk kindly sent a small donkey-cart to meet us on the way, and we availed ourselves of its accommodation for a short distance; but the roads were in a sad condition after the late rains, and the animal was scarcely, as we thought, equal to his task;

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so we preferred descending from our carriage and making the best of our way to our journey's end, as Paul did on setting out from Mitylene to Assos, "on foot."

It is just now proposed to carry a tunnel through the mountain of La Pouce, at an estimated expense of £60,000. This would place the district of Moka in the vicinity of Port Louis, and render the property of that district of greatly augmented value. The population also would no doubt be much increased. The roads of the island are excellent. They are macadamised, and, as the whole of the material is basalt, they are hard, and require comparatively little repair. Altogether there are 185 miles of road in the island.

I had a long conversation with Paoly, a native of Madagascar, from Manahary, north of Tamatave, a Betsimisaraka, employed as an evangelist among his countrymen. He appears an excellent man. He is a mason by trade, and in part supports himself by his labour. He receives also £1 a month from our Society. He speaks of there being about *fifty natives of Madagascar*, resident in Port Louis, who are, so far as he can judge, genuine Christians. There are others also at Moka, and other parts of the island; but he thinks there are scarcely 100 altogether who can read *well*. He estimates about 300 or 400 who connect themselves with the Christian congregations. Very many more would attend if they had places to meet in, contiguous to their residence.

There appeared to me no hope for Madagascar, but in the succession to the crown. The young prince, advancing to supreme power, would no doubt alter the whole policy, and he may possibly attain that power, ere long, by the queen resigning her authority into his hands, or by her removal by death, in which event he would succeed as a matter of course. My impression is, that the queen would prefer to see him established on the throne herself, and may, therefore, ere long, resign in his favour; and by this means may be terminated the disagreement between the Malagasy and

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the British Government, and the affair of Captain Kelly at Tamatave pass over.*

According to a previous arrangement, Mons. Cheron called for me early the next Sunday morning, when I accompanied him, with Mr. J. J. Le Brun of Moka, to the house of a friend at Petite Rivière, on whose premises a temporary chapel has been erected, and where I found a good congregation assembling. Many of these being Creoles, *i.e.* born in the island, and all of them being familiar with French, it seemed best that Mr. Le Brun should take the principal part of the service in that language. I followed with an address in Malagasy, the majority of those present knowing the language. They retain a knowledge of their language and use it among themselves, and are pleased to be addressed in it. After service, we set out for Mons. Cheron's residence, and held service there. A still larger number was present in the afternoon. Mr. Le Brun preached, and I added an address at the close. M. Cheron intimated to them that I would call and pay them a visit next morning. They expressed themselves much pleased, and invited me to come. I remained, and passed the rest of the day with Mons. Cheron and his numerous family. Death had, however, recently made many inroads on his family circle. He had lost *sixteen relatives during one year*, and of that number *nine* died in the course of one month!—a most unusual mortality in the connexions of one family.

Mons. Cheron had been making some highly useful and liberal arrangements for the spiritual welfare of his neighbourhood, and was anxious to obtain a Missionary from our Society for "Plain Wilhelms;" and his desire should, I think, be complied with, if possible. He offers a plot of ground, and a chapel and dwelling-house, which he will make over to the Society. He offers to pay half the amount of the passage-money, whether for a single or a married Missionary, and he guarantees, or rather gives, £5

* See forward—page 383.

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per month for four years certain. He wishes him to open a school for the children of the neighbourhood. All this he was prepared to commit to writing, and I promised him that I would endeavour to promote the plan so far as I could, on reaching England. The Missionary must be, of course, familiar with the French language.

I had the pleasure of laying the foundation-stone of the new chapel. About 100 persons assembled on the occasion. Many more would have attended, but that an epidemic prevailed extensively through the island. Mons. Cheron, on behalf of himself and friends, read an address to me with the view of urging on me their need of a pastor, and requesting me to endeavour to procure one for them, to be sent out by our Society. I delivered a short address and then laid the stone, after which, Mr. J. J. Le Brun addressed the company present, and Mr. P. Le Brun offered prayer, and the service closed with singing the doxology. The dimensions of the chapel are 50 feet by 24 feet. It is built of stone, and will cost about £800, including a neat dwelling-house for the Missionary. It is to be called "Freeman Chapel."

I accompanied M. Cheron to visit a remarkable geological locality, called "Trou au cerf," or "Bassin," in his district, distant about six miles from his residence. It is the crater of an ancient volcano, about half a mile across the diameter of the upper rim, tapering down in a funnel shape, some 250 feet, and then having a level bottom with a small pool of water, from rains lately fallen, occupying the centre. The whole of the interior of the sides of the crater is covered with trees and shrubs. The exterior sides of the hill are covered also with vegetation, among which there is a large native population. Many of the inhabitants there are Malagasy, and it was to them I had promised that I would come and pay a visit. I saw them, conversed a little with them, and much wished they had some teacher settled among them. None of them can read. I thought a Malagasy teacher might be located here,

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and render much valuable service to the Missionary who may settle at Plain Wilhelms. We returned in the afternoon to M. Cheron's, where I remained for the rest of the evening.

No information had been lately received from Madagascar, either as to its political state or the condition of the Christians. The merchants of Port Louis had lately sent a petition to the Queen, praying that trade might be re-opened. Captain Gevint had taken the petition to Tamatave, to be conveyed from thence to the capital, and was going down again in the course of a month, with the hope of finding a reply from the Queen awaiting him.

That reply arrived while I was yet in Port Louis, and the following is a translation of it:—

"*Antananarivo*, 18 *Alakaosy*, 1850.

"To Mr. Bell and J. Gevint and companions, 491, whose signatures are attached to their letter.

"This is what I announce to you. I received your letter to the Queen of Madagascar, on the subject of opening the trade, and conveying the 'hasina' of three dollars, which you term an apology, according to the custom of the country. I have heard the whole of the communication made by your letter, and I have conveyed to the Queen of Madagascar the contents of your letter. And I inform you explicitly, that it was not we who fired the first shot; but Romain Defosses, and Mr. Kelly and their companions, in three ships of war, fired first upon us to attack our country; that excited our anger exceedingly, namely, the attack upon our country.

"Consider, therefore, the nature of friendship, and do not be proud in reference to the friendship, for friendship that is real is what I am desirous of. Therefore, make R. Defosses and Mr. Kelly, and their companions in the three ships of war, who first fired upon us, to attack our country, pay the fines. The fine to be paid by R. Defosses and Mr. Kelly, is 700 dollars each, and their companions in the three ships, must pay 70 dollars each person, for they first fired on us, to attack our country, and that was the cause of stopping the trade.

"However, we do not impose fines on those who have not fought against us, but only on those who attacked us. Therefore, if it be your wish that the trade should be open, cause to be paid those fines, but whoever pays the money must say, 'It is the fine paid by Defosses, Mr. Kelly, and their companions.' Then we shall accept

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the fine that is paid, and the trade shall be open. And if you do not say that it is the fine from you, then the trade will not be open.

"And if you say that the payment for goods purchased should open the commerce, we will not accept it: even if ten millions of dollars are offered, the trade will not be opened; but if you pay it as the fine from them, then we shall accept it.

"And this further I tell you concerning the hasina, the three dollars sent by you, saying, 'It is the custom of your ancestors, with persons who wish to apologize to the Sovereign of Madagascar'—The three dollars are returned to Gevint, for the law of the country of the Queen, and of her ancestors is, first to pay the fine, and then present the hasina. That is the established law of the country of our Sovereign.

"Salutations to you, saith

"RAINIKIETAKA,

"12 Hon. Marshal, Officer of the Palace, Principal Secretary,

"and RAZAFILAHY,

"Chief Merchant at Tananarivo."

It further appeared, that Mons. De Lastelle, connected with the mercantile house of Messrs. Rantony and Co., of Bourbon, but for many years a resident in Madagascar, as sugar planter and merchant, had succeeded in obtaining favourable terms for himself, for some re-opening of trade. It was stated that he had paid the Queen 15,000 dollars, (£3000 sterling) and obtained the monopoly of trade on the eastern coast to the end of the year; that he had about 10,000 head of cattle ready for exportation, at the price of twenty dollars, shipped on board, and two dollars per head additional, to be paid to the Malagasy Custom-house. He had also 4000 tons of sugar on hand, with large quantities of copal, bees' wax, &c. It is stated also that the Queen demands a sum of 12,500 dollars (£2500) from the Government of Mauritius, before consenting to the re-opening of trade generally with the English, such sum to be considered as an indemnity for the attack made by the English and French on Tamatave, in 1845.

On the arrival of this intelligence, I had another interview with the Governor, by appointment. He read to me

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his letter to the Queen on his appointment and arrival here as Governor, expressing the wish to renew friendly relations with Madagascar, and to see the usual commerce restored. The Queen's reply expressed a wish to see the friendly relations restored, but insisted on the payment of the fine for the attack on Tamatave, in 1845. The Governor read to me also part of the despatch which he had received on this subject from Lord Grey, in which his Lordship declines the suggestion of Sir W. Anderson, as to making a present to the Queen. The English Government is unwilling to compromise its dignity by paying anything in the shape of a fine. And yet, without some concession of that nature, the trade cannot be re-opened. Much of this affair turns on the previous question,—whether we were right or wrong in the attack which unitedly with the French, we had made on Madagascar. Perhaps we were somewhat too hasty in our steps. We committed a blunder in attempting to "punish these barbarians," as we are too apt to designate them, without first estimating their strength, and ascertaining their defences. We did not send and proclaim war against Madagascar in a regular manner. The Queen had insisted on the foreigners on the coast either becoming her subjects, just as natives themselves are, or quitting her country within fifteen days. Some refused to become her subjects, and yet could not dispose of their property within the time specified, and a further time was granted, and at length some were forcibly driven out, with considerable sacrifice of property. The new law imposed by the Queen was extremely severe and unjust in another respect. Several of these foreigners had contracted engagements with the native women of Madagascar, of a nature equivalent to marriage, with whom they faithfully lived, and by whom they had offspring. Yet even these were required, either to become *bonâ fide* subjects of the Queen, or, in the event of their preferring to leave the country, not to remove their wives and families with them, but to

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leave them in Madagascar. This has always appeared to me a hard case. The Queen's law, which might be highly proper in itself, should have been prospective, and not retrospective. At any rate, it should have been fairly modified in relation to the parties affected by it, under the peculiar circumstances now stated.

Both parties, it seems to me, the Malagasy Government and the English and French Governments, were gravely in fault; and as such, both ought to suffer the matter to pass into oblivion.

The Queen has also less reason to complain of the English, I think, since the latter took no steps to retaliate the insult offered to the British Government in the expulsion of Mr. Lyall, British Agent in 1829, nor to recover the property of British subjects forced out of Madagascar, by the change of policy regarding religion, property belonging to the Missionaries and the Society, amounting to no less a sum than 10,000 dollars (£2000 sterling)!

It is not at all necessary to repeat now any details of the attack made on Tamatave, in consequence of these Malagasy measures. Some English and French troops landed at Tamatave, attacked the fort, and were repulsed. They killed many of the Malagasy, and left also many of their own number dead on the coast. The heads of these Europeans were cut off, and placed on poles along the beach, where they remain to this day, and of which the annexed sketch, taken by a French artist, affords a melancholy and humiliating representation.*

During my visit in Port Louis, two vessels were

* Sometime after these heads had been thus exposed, an officer in the Queen's service, of high rank and of humane disposition, came down to Tamatave, in command of fresh troops. This was Ratsitohaina, the chief officer in the Malagasy Embassy to this country, in the time of his Majesty William IV. Regarding this exposure of the heads of the slain as an unnecessary indignity, he ordered them to be taken down and buried. This act was reported to the Queen. It was treated as a grave offence. "It was a proof that he sympathized with the enemies of the Queen." His head was ordered to be

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engaged to go from Mauritius to Tamatave, to obtain some cargoes of cattle, under the new arrangement made with M. De Lastelle. I therefore made up my mind immediately, that I would accompany the "Nautilus." I went to Captain Ellis, whom I knew at the Cape of Good Hope, to complete the arrangements, and hold myself ready for the embarkation on the following Monday. But my plans were defeated. The captain was not allowed to take any passenger whatever, nor even a letter! He had simply to go, obtain his cargo, and return; and the same stipulation was made with regard to the other vessel, and these stipulations were insisted upon, most stringently, by M. De Lastelle, for reasons obvious to others as well as himself.

Dr. Tavel, who had come to Mauritius some time ago, from Tananarivo, where he had kindly aided the persecuted Christians, and had returned to Tamatave, was not only refused permission to go back to the capital from thence, but was sent off from the coast in a canoe, and picked up from that, by the boats of a ship in the harbour. Nothing could be more insulting and cruel. This was said to have been done by Rainiharo and his party, while Dr. Tavel himself was *only* befriended by the young prince,—an illustration of the extraordinary influence of the prime minister, Rainiharo,—and, it is said, of M. De Lastelle.

An important circumstance connected with the suspension of trade with Madagascar, is the additional expense which it occasions to the British Commissariat in Mauritius. It was on this ground that the merchants of Mauritius, in an address to the Governor, asked for a pecuniary grant from the colonial chest, to assist them in paying 15,000 dollars, to get the trade with Madagascar reopened. That request, the Governor felt obliged to decline.

cut off and hoisted on a pole, and placed among the rest; and on the beach they are still standing, and are to do so till the indemnity or fine is paid.

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The mercantile document above referred to states, that he Commissariat purchased, prior to the suspension of rade, 40,000 lbs. of meat every month, but since then, nly 25,000 lbs.—that the present contract is for 25,000 lbs. t *fourteen* centimes,* or if trade were to re-open, at *ight* centimes, that is, in English money, at seven-pence r fourpence a pound respectively, being a difference of *three-pence per pound.* The cost of 25,000 lbs. per month, at fourteen centimes, is £8700 per annum. At the reduced price which is contracted for, *if trade were to open*, it would be for the same quantity, only £5000 per annum. So that the Government now pays for this quantity, £3700 a-year *more* than it would do *in peace;* and as this state of things has gone on for six years, the total loss amounts to £22,000. Still, it may be said, this is not a *real* loss, but only nominal, because the Commissariat now purchases only 25,000 lbs. instead of 40,000 lbs. a-month, and that the 40,000 lbs. at eight centimes, would amount to £8000 a-year; and therefore, that the Government actually saves by this arrangement £700 per annum. To this it may be replied, that the original quantity of 40,000 lbs. a-month, was then 15,000 lbs. a month too much, and the Government wasted that quantity, by giving it superfluously at a cost of £3000 per annum. If it were not too much then, the same quantity ought to be purchased now, and the soldiers ought not so be made to suffer for this want of amicable arrangements between the two Governments. Now, 40,000 lbs. a month, at the present price of fourteen centimes, would be £14,000 per annum, instead of the same quantity at *eight* centimes, amounting to £8000, a difference of £6000 per annum. To prevent that real loss, the allowance to the soldiers is reduced in quantity, and a nominal saving of £700 per annum effected. But supposing peace and trade restored, then the original quantity of 40,000 lbs. might be

* A centime is the hundredth part of a dollar, and a dollar is equal to four shillings.

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given to the troops at this cost of £8000, whereas the *reduced* quantity of 25,000 lbs. now costs that same sum.

The troops in the island are said to amount to 1500 altogether. Now 25,000 lbs. of meat per month for this number, gives an average of nearly four pounds a week, or a little more than half-a-pound a day to each man. The fact however is, that fresh meat is now allowed three days in the week only, instead of *five;* and salt provisions, obtained at a cheaper rate, are given instead of fresh. The truth, I believe, is, that at present, the Commissariat obtains supplies of 32,000 lbs. monthly, at eight-pence three farthings per pound, being MORE THAN DOUBLE ITS COST *in time of peace.* The actual loss to the Government is therefore an important item in these matters.

Although many of my impressions connected with this visit to the Mauritius were gratifying, some also were depressing. I felt depressed at the sight of such multitudes of the natives of India, who are engaged as labourers, and for whom *no religious instruction whatever is provided.* They come in from Calcutta and Madras, and amount to 60,000. I fear our Society can do nothing in the case. Two or three efficient native teachers might be useful; but I think they would require the superintendence of a resident Missionary. Possibly Mr. Le Brun and his sons might exercise that superintendence; but they have no acquaintance with the Indian languages, and the native teachers would have no acquaintance with French; and hence the superintendence would be extremely imperfect and ineffective.

In the existing state of the Society's funds, it would be impossible, I fear, to place a European Missionary at Mauritius, for the sake of the native Indians. Unless familiar with their language, it would be useless, and that could only be acquired in India; and, having acquired it there, he has an immensely larger field of usefulness open before him there, than he could have by coming to

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Mauritius. Then again, with regard to Mauritius, the only party increasing rapidly is the Roman Catholic. They have a bishop, and about eight or ten priests, and subordinate helpers of various grades. The payment of salaries by the Government gives them great facility for action. Their bishop has £600 a year, and the priests, who are single men, £250. They have also numerous fees from the people, on baptism, marriage, &c. A great deal of the work, in constructing their chapels, is performed gratuitously, as works of "merit." The people are expected to labour, especially on Sundays! "Every stone carried then for the building is specially noted in heaven, and put down to account!"

The Roman Catholic Bishop in Mauritius wrote a letter some time ago to a party in England. It was there published, and has travelled back to the Mauritius. He states, that the Government is doing all that it can to encourage Protestantism, but happily they, the Roman Catholics, are able to check the efforts, and the cause of the true apostolic church is advancing and triumphing. He adds, that the good people at Seychelles had long requested to have a minister of their own faith sent to them,—meaning of course, in his view of the matter, a Roman Catholic; "but that the Government had, instead of it, sent them a Protestant, thereby fulfilling," says the Bishop, the "scripture that says, 'When they ask for bread, a stone shall be given instead!'" This is not *our* version.

The Church of England has not much influence in Mauritius. It is attended, of course, by the English residents, chiefly officers of the Government, and a few merchants. The senior chaplain cannot be heard when he preaches, on account of some defective pronunciation. But the general impression is, that this is not a serious loss to the community. The second chaplain is a man of sterling excellence, Rev. L. Bankes.

Mr. Le Brun's congregation consists wholly of the co-

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loured people, among whom there appear to be some truly excellent people, although not having much weight in the community.

For the religious instruction of the natives of Madagascar who are at Mauritius, useful efforts are made by Mr. Le Brun and his son, at Port Louis; and by Mr. P. Le Brun, at Moka, aided by Andrianado. James, Simeon, and Paoly, are also indefatigable, and it is hoped that Joseph may shortly return from Mohilla, and unite with them in these important labours.

Port Louis is said to be much less healthy than formerly; but in walking about, I confess I could not be in the least surprised. I saw so much dirt, and the streams and drains uncovered emit so much abominable effluvium, it is only marvellous that sickness and death are not more prevalent. There seems to me to want a vigilant municipality with sanitary regulations, and power to enforce them everywhere. Indeed, the general healthiness of Mauritius is said to have deteriorated since the introduction of so many Coolies from India. Many of these are in feeble health on their arrival. Their food is not sufficiently nutritious, and they decay and die. They reside in large numbers in the same house, and this also augments disease, especially with the want of habits of cleanliness.

I accompanied Mr. Le Brun to visit several members of his congregation, but found almost every house affected with the prevailing epidemic. The annual meeting of the medical men of Port Louis was being held, but eight of their number were absent, on account of being personally seized with the influenza—"la grippe," as the French term it. Twenty-four of the police were reported as laid aside, incapable of service from the same cause. In one of the commercial establishments, employing one hundred Malabars, ninety of the men were laid up, leaving ten only able to work. At the Malagasy congregation in the evening, instead of the ordinary attendance of one hundred, there were only fifteen present. The influenza is in the lungs,

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not the membrane of the lungs. It is attended with tightness of the chest, severe coughing, headache, and pains in the limbs generally. It lasts a few days, yields to mild treatment, and then disappears.

The newspaper called "Sentinelle," one morning issued a half sheet only, the half its usual size, and contained the following apology: "Our compositors, with the exception of one man, are all laid up with the prevailing influenza."

Since my return to England, intelligence has been received respecting the state of the Christians in Madagascar. It appears, that in consequence of the oppressions under which the people generally are labouring in that country, many of them try, from time to time, to effect their escape into some of the provinces, at a distance from the capital, the seat of Government. In doing this some have been apprehended by the Queen's troops, who are stationed at various out-posts, and who act as guards and patroles. As a punishment for attempting to run away, they have been sold as slaves to Arab merchants on the western coast, and some of them taken to Mohilla. There they have been ransomed by the friendly chief, a daughter of the late Ramanetaka, cousin to the late Radama. From these natives information has been obtained as to the condition of Madagascar and the sufferings of the Christians. In May, 1850, it was ascertained by the Government, that many of the people were still, in defiance of the law, assembling for Christian worship. Officers were accordingly sent to apprehend them, and on reaching the spot, many miles distant from Antananarivo, they themselves were astonished to find so many assembled in the act of worship, and having moreover a chapel, which they had built for themselves. They were in number upwards of one thousand. The first step was to ascertain who were the leaders of the party, and who had built the chapel, and then to discriminate between those who had been

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already convicted on previous occasions, and warned against committing the same offence again, and those who had recently united with them. An immense assembly of the people was convened to be present at their trial, or rather, at those proceedings which, though called a trial, amount to nothing more than the delivery of a message from the sovereign, and the final sentence regarding the punishments to be inflicted. Time was allowed for parties to become their own accusers. Voluntary confession usually exempts from the severe or capital punishment that is inflicted, where convictions are obtained through the evidence of others. Four of the Christians, nobles of the land by birth, were condemned to death at the stake. These were Andriantsiamba, Ramitraha, Andriampaniry, and his wife. Fourteen of the Christians were also put to death, by being thrown over the steep and precipitous rock, Ampahamarinana. They were bound with cords, and suspended for a time over this dreadful precipice, and asked if they would take the oath proffered to them, implying that they would never transgress in this matter again; and on their steady refusal, the cords were let go, and they were dashed to pieces; hurled from the rocks, their cry went up to heaven, and their spirits joined the glorious company of the martyrs.

Penalties and punishments have been imposed on all the rest, whose total number, it afterwards appeared, amounted to upwards of sixteen hundred!

"Now thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory," that his Word is still mighty to subdue the hearts of men to obedience and faith,—that so goodly a company of confessors could be found in Madagascar, and that so large a number has proved "*faithful even unto death.*"

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CHAPTER XVII.

CEYLON—ADEN—SUEZ.

LEAVE MAURITIUS—GALLE IN CEYLON—NATIVE CANOES—ROUTE TO COLOMBO—COLOMBO—BAZAAR—BETEL NUT—PRODUCE—PEARLS—TREASURES OF THE DEEP—SCENERY—WESLEYANS IN CEYLON—BAPTIST MISSION — DR. M'VICARS — WOLFENDAL — MISSIONARY MEETING—COTTON—LORD TORRINGTON—PRISON—SIR ANTHONY OLIPHANT—"HADDINGTON"—VOYAGE TO ADEN—ADEN—VOLCANIC APPEARANCES OF ADEN—POPULATION—SUMALÍS.

I EMBARKED at Port Louis on board the Government packet "Elizabeth," Capt. Kidson, for Point de Galle, Ceylon, having one passenger on board besides myself, the Government Resident of Goojoorat. We found our Captain a remarkably well-read and intelligent man, a little inclined to be cynical after indigestion, acute in his remarks on men and manners, always kind in action, and thoroughly tired of his roving life on the ocean, without seeing his way to forsake it.

I chose this somewhat circuitous route in returning to England, for the purpose of passing a little time in Egypt, and if possible in Palestine. I knew that by taking this overland route, I could reach home about as soon as if I had come by a sailing vessel from Mauritius and round the Cape. Of the latter route I had already acquired sufficient experience. I longed for the charm of variety and novelty, and I knew that Egypt and Palestine would present an ample supply of such attractions.

On reaching Galle I took up my quarters at Mansion House Hotel. There is nothing of interest on approach-

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ing Galle, except the exhilarating expectation of being soon on shore. The boats, indeed, which convey you from the vessel to the beach come in rather a "questionable shape." I confess I ventured into one with a little wholesome hesitation. They seem as though they would certainly tilt over, unless you balance yourself with the exactness of a chronometer.

They are formed of native trees, simply scooped and hollowed out, provided with planks fitted to their sides to give them height, and then with outriggers, to prevent their upsetting. After all, they are extremely narrow, awkward, and uncouth; but the charges for them are moderate. For two shillings a passenger gets on shore with all his luggage. The town is neither large nor beautiful; yet it has a touch of the picturesque about it, and is not destitute of comforts. The European population is small; it consists of about thirty of the *élite*, such as would be entitled to attend an assembly or a *bal costumé*, or to occupy the chief seats in the synagogue. The language principally used is a Portuguese *patois*. Religious services are conducted in English, Portuguese, and Cingalese.

I paid a brief visit to Colombo, the seat of Government. The distance is seventy-two miles. It occupied ten hours, and a return ticket by the mail, the only regular conveyance, cost the monstrous sum of five pounds. At the Cape I had paid only eight shillings for forty miles by an omnibus, from Cape Town to Paarl: that was moderate; this Ceylonese charge I thought exorbitant. Still, the ride from Galle to Colombo is worth it, for it is exceedingly beautiful. The road lies near the coast, almost the whole distance, and for a considerable part of the way, is lined on both sides with the cocoa-nut tree. In many places these form a magnificent avenue; the tops of these graceful trees meet across the road and shelter it from the scorching rays of the sun. On many of the trees ropes are suspended, stretching from one to another. The

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natives manage to walk along these when tapping the trees, to obtain the juice from which to manufacture toddy, and to obtain the fruit. On some trees also I observed a long bough or frond of the tree, tied up against its trunk, so as to prevent depredators from ascending to steal the nuts. Besides the cocoa-nut tree, there were many jack-fruit and bread-fruit trees, also abundance of the vakoa, a species of the screw-pine, mangoes and bamboos. Flowers were not very numerous. We passed also abundance of the banana tree, and several cinnamon plantations. The latter yield no fragrance, unless in blossom. The leaves and stems are deliciously fragrant *when bruised.* The road presents a lively scene throughout. Native cottages are met with on both sides, nearly the whole distance, and, with few exceptions, are within a few yards of each other. There are also some towns and villages through which the mail passes; the chief of these is Caltura, where there are many commodious and pleasant-looking villas. It is the residence of an English magistrate. About half way on the road is an apology of an hotel, where an apology of a breakfast is provided, and for eating which the traveller has to make *his* apology in the shape of three shillings.

Colombo must be pronounced a fine town. The Government House appears to be spacious, appropriate, and comfortable, and the part of the town where it is situated is open, airy, and agreeable. The houses were built originally by the Portuguese; they have spacious verandahs, and consist of large halls and wings. They are built, for the most part, of a peculiar kind of rock, found extensively in the island, and which, it appears, answers the purpose extremely well; but what the rock mineralogically is, there seems some difficulty in deciding. Dr. M'Vicars, with whom I had some conversation respecting it, and who appears to be familiar with the geology of the country, considers it to be a species of magnetic iron ore. The iron found in it gives it durability; but it has also much clay

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in it, and the appearance of decomposing feldspar. It is easily wrought into blocks for building, and, when built, is covered with a plastering of mortar, obtained from the coral with which the coast abounds.

The town of Colombo is large; its principal streets or roads branch out in straight lines in various directions. Part of it is called the "Fort," and part the "Pettah;" the former includes the portion of the town which lies, as the name imports, within the walls of the Fort. The Pettah is the portion we should designate "the suburbs," where the bazaar, or market, is held. The bazaar is large; part of it consists of rows of houses, the lower portions of which are used as shops, as well as the verandah, which immediately faces the shops. The verandah is filled with the various articles on sale, spread out on mats on the ground; and here may be found rice, and grain of all kinds —vegetables and fruits, crockery, ironmongery, wooden-ware, earthen bowls, &c., haberdashery, common jewellery; —in fact, everything in native demand. There are also other portions of the bazaar, properly so called, having *sheds* under cover, without dwelling-houses, where fish, meat, poultry, &c., may be procured. The whole is a scene full of animation and variety. Here are Cingalese and Hindoos, in all varieties of dress and appearance. The Anglo-native descendants are usually called "Burghers;" but this is not considered so respectful as "Dutch descendants," or "Portuguese descendants." These latter constitute a numerous class, and are mostly Roman Catholics. They form a large body of the inhabitants, but have now few converts from the Cingalese. To me, one of the most disagreeable things in the appearance of the natives, that I met with, is the universal use of the betel-nut (*areca*), mixed with lime and a leaf;—men and women, old and young, fathers and mothers, lads and maidens,—all indulge in the practice. It is prepared and sold in all the bazaars and shops along the road. It gives a bright, blood-red appearance to the lips, gums, and teeth. It is said to preserve the

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teeth from decay; but it is also said to be extremely prejudicial in the long-run to health; much in the same way, I suppose, that the habitual use of opium, or tobacco, may be

I was not able to procure any good "Hand-book" of Ceylon, giving, in a short compass, the information a traveller might wish to obtain. I found such information principally in the Ceylon "Almanack;" but I understood that Sir Emerson Tennant, late Secretary to Government, was about publishing a full and comprehensive account of the island, and which would contain a large amount of valuable statistical information that may be relied on. I gather, from a small work on Ceylon, which I borrowed there, that the average amount of coffee exported from the island during 1844, 5, and 6, was 486,452 cwt.—nearly 25,000 tons; that about half a million pounds weight of cinnamon is annually exported, besides an amazing quantity of cocoa-nuts, cocoa-nut oil, and coir. There are many manufactories of this coir on the road between Galle and Colombo. The shells of the nut are first well soaked, the fibres are then beaten out, and in that prepared state it is conveyed to the rope-walks for manufacture.

The pearl-fishery was formerly of great value in Ceylon. The Government claimed the right of letting out the fisheries, and it appears that the revenue of Government, received from this source of income during forty years, say from 1796 to 1837, amounted to the enormous sum of £828,381 16*s*. 1*d*.,—nearly a million of money! How immense, how boundless, are the treasures of the deep! These fisheries are now forbidden. They were becoming exhausted and destroyed by being overworked. After a few years, they will be worked again, and made to yield a harvest for the service of man. "Thou hast put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, and the *fish of the sea*, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the sea." Psalm viii. 6—8.

It was a great additional pleasure to me, while at Ceylon,

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to meet the deputation from the Baptist Missionary Society, consisting of Rev. Mr. Leechman, and my brother-in-law, Rev. Joshua Russell. We passed several pleasant hours together, with our friends at Ceylon.

The deputation, which had been to Kandy, had just returned to Colombo. They had been much delighted with the scenery on their trip; they found it grand and enchanting. It almost tempted me to go there also; but my time was brief; I was anxious to return to Galle in time for the steamer expected for Suez, so that I could have had only a day, or two days at most there, and it seemed scarcely worth while to pay another £5 for the fare of the mail there and back; losing, at the same time, the opportunity of seeing more of Colombo, and meeting the friends there. And after all, I must confess, I had now seen so much that is magnificent and beautiful, that I ceased to be anxious to visit spots, merely for the sake of scenery. There required some additional object of attraction. Wales, North and South, the Lakes of Killarney and Westmoreland, Old Scotia and Jamaica, Madagascar and Kaffirland, Natal and Mauritius, had satisfied me in that respect; and now, having seen Tabor and Hermon, Carmel and Lebanon, I am content, and willing to remain at home.

I called on Rev. Mr. Gogerly, Wesleyan Missionary, and superintendent of this district. He appeared to me hale and vigorous for a man, I suppose, about 60 years of age, and after 30 years' continuous service in Ceylon. He had not been to England during all that period, but still wished, if it could be so arranged, to return home in the course of a short time. I was much gratified with my brief interview with him; he appeared "full of his work," and to have his heart in it. On the review of the labours of the Christian Church in Ceylon, he was of opinion that there was ample ground for thankfulness and encouragement. His hopes rested chiefly on the training of a native ministry, and he thought the Wesleyan Society was successful in the prosecution of that object. They have

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some natives already ordained as pastors, and they have others under a careful course of training and preparation.

They greatly need further help from England; and he expressed the hope that Missionaries were on their way out, or shortly would be. But the great desideratum, he considered to be, a more earnest and decided character in the piety of the natives, and for that purpose a much more copious communication of the influences of the Holy Spirit; and to this point in particular, he thought the prayers of the Church at home should be directed.

I was much gratified with the Mission School for native girls, under the able care of Mrs. Allen, wife of the Baptist minister at Colombo. They are instructed, educated, and boarded by means of resources raised principally by her indefatigable exertions, among her own friends. They cost about £5 per year each.

I spent the Sunday at Colombo very pleasantly. In the morning I heard Mr. Russell preach a sound, useful, practical discourse, in relation to the alleged imperfections of primitive Christians, and modern native converts, exhibiting the unreasonableness of expecting perfection in their character, and the injustice of denouncing or declaiming against Christianity itself, on the ground that real converts are often found imperfect, and pretended converts insincere. I heard Dr. M'Vicars also, at the Scotch Church, deliver an able discourse on the power of habit and custom, as illustrated in the history of Saul of Tarsus, prior to his conversion, and founded on Acts ix. 1. To the Doctor I had letters of introduction from a mutual friend, C. U. Stuart, Esq., now of Bloem Fontein, in South Africa.

I spent the day, between the services, at Mr. Allen's, in company with Mr. Russell. Our evening service was almost too warm for an European. The chapel was filled, and the place excessively hot, from the great number of cocoa-nut oil lamps, with immense wicks, burning furiously.

I took breakfast next morning with Mr. Palm, of the

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. . . . . "Such was the general success of Mr. North's measures, that in 1801 the number of schools throughout the colony amounted to 170; and Sir Thomas Maitland, who succeeded him in the government, exhibited an equal appreciation of the importance of popular instruction, and an equal assiduity in its extension.

"All these operations were unfortunately circumscribed by the embarrassed state of the colonial finances, from which, by order of the Secretary of State, no larger sum than £1500 per annum was for many years appropriated to the maintenance of native education; a retrenchment the immediate effect of which was to close a multitude of schools which had been opened by Mr. North in all parts of the island.

"But we come now to a painful manifestation of the unsubstantial nature of all that had been formerly done by the Dutch in the way of Christian conversion among the natives of Ceylon; evincing, at the same time, the deep and tenacious attachment of the Singhalese to their own national superstitions. On the arrival of the British, both the Singhalese and Tamils, accustomed as they had been for nearly two centuries to a system of religious compulsion, expected to find, on the part of their new masters, a continuance of the same rigour which had characterised the ecclesiastical policy of the Dutch.

"Under this apprehension they prepared themselves to conform implicitly to whatever form of Christianity might be prescribed by the new government; and not only did the number of nominal converts exhibit no immediate reduction on a change of rulers, but they were reported in 1801 to have so exceeded anything ever exhibited by the Dutch, as to amount to no less than 342,000 Protestants, exclusive of a still greater number who professed the Roman Catholic religion.

. . . . . "The natives, however, soon came to regard the withdrawal of compulsion to religious conformity only as evidence of religious indifference on the part of their new

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ulers; and they became still more firmly convinced of the ustice of this conclusion, on discovering that they were no onger to be *paid* for apostacy; and that a monopoly of ffices and public employment was not, as theretofore, to e jealously preserved for the outward professors of Christ-anity. Almost with greater rapidity than their numbers ad originally increased, they now commenced to decline. In 1802 the nominal Protestant Christians amongst the Tamils of Jaffna were 136,000; in 1806, Buchanan, who then visited Ceylon, describes the Protestant religion as *extinct*, the fine old churches in ruins, the clergy who had once ministered in them forgotten, and but one Hindoo catechist in charge of the province. Vast numbers had openly joined the Roman Catholic communion, to which they had long been secretly attached; and the whole district was handed over to priests from the college of Goa. In the Singhalese districts, the decline, though not so instantaneous, was equally deplorable; the 342,000 over whom Cordina confidingly rejoiced in 1801, had diminished in 1810 to less than half the amount; and numbers of Protestants were every year apostatizing to Buddha.

"The result of this disheartening demonstration of apostacy throughout Ceylon was not, however, without its uses, and it was, to a certain extent, important in more than one particular. Christian missionaries had already begun to establish themselves in Ceylon; three had arrived in 1804, and at the very outset of their toil they found not only a clear field for their labours, but a striking illustration of the difficulties of their task, and of the hopelessness of attempting anything on mere human strength, or on any and delusive reliance upon human devices."

After stating various other efforts which were made, Sir James Emerson Tennent remarks: "The success of these renewed efforts was, however, far from satisfactory; the first three missionaries* who arrived in 1804, were

* These were German Missionaries accepted by the London Missionary Society, and appointed to Ceylon.

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stationed respectively at Jaffna, Matura, and Galle; but after a patient trial at each place, the result was pronounced to be a failure. They succeeded in establishing schools which were but sparingly attended; the Singalhese Christians in the south were represented, after four years' ministration among them, to be 'worse than the heathen—thousands of them actual worshippers of Buddha;' and their general estimation of Christianity so low, that it was known to the Singhalese only as '*the religion of the East India Company*.' As for the Tamils of the north, after a few years of hopeless exertion, the missionary sent to them was withdrawn; and so universal was their relapse into idolatry, that within a very few years, the only Christians who were to be found on the peninsula were the members of the Church of Rome.

"So rapid was the decline of the Christian religion throughout the colony during the period immediately subsequent to the retirement of the Dutch, and so extensive its corruption where it had not actually disappeared, that on the first arrival of the several missionaries of the Baptists, the Wesleyans, the Americans, and the Church of England, between the years 1812 and 1818, the Protestant form of Christianity, and certainly its purity and influence, might be considered almost extinct. The first missionaries who arrived in Ceylon after its occupation by the English, were the three Germans, sent out in 1804 by the London Missionary Society, the imperfect success of whose labours has been already alluded to. These were followed in 1812 by a deputation from the eminent establishment of the Baptists at Serampore; and two years later by the Wesleyans led by the lamented Mr. Coke, who expired on the voyage, when within a few days' sail of his destination. To these were added in 1818 four ordained missionaries of the Church of England.

"At present the Baptist Mission occupies 130 villages of the Singhalese, employs 3 European and 11 native mis-

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onaries, maintains 35 schools, with an average attendnce of 830 pupils, and has enrolled as communicants 451 onverts to Christianity.

" With regard to the Wesleyans, the total number of ative Christians admitted to actual membership with their hurch is something over a thousand.

" The Church of England Mission began its labours in 818, and from that time to the present upwards of 20 rdained clergymen have devoted their labours, and some f them their lives to its promotion.

" Of the Church Missionary Establishment in Ceylon, he most important is that of *Cotta*. So early as 1828 they ad 297 children under instruction. In 1834, the number of pupils had increased to 350, of whom one-sixth were girls. Within 16 years from the commencement of the mission, upwards of 900 boys were in daily attendance on the schools, and 400 girls, a total of 1,300 children throughout 29 hamlets in the immediate vicinity of Cotta. At the present time, after the perseverance and toil of the missionaries for 26 years, their schools number 71, and their scholars exceed 2000, of whom 500 are females.

" The results of these efforts to diffuse Christianity throughout Ceylon are less unsatisfactory than they may outwardly seem to a casual observer, who regards only their ostensible effect: for however limited may be the first definite gains in the numerical amount of acknowledged converts, the process has commenced by which these will be hereafter augmented; and living principles have been successfully implanted as much more precious than the mere visible results, as the tree exceeds in value the first fruits of its earliest growth.

"'Nor have these fruits themselves been inconsiderable, when we bear in mind the antiquity and strength of the superstitions which have pre-occupied the soil; the failures of the first efforts of Christianity to supplant them, the peculiar characteristics of the Singhalese people, and the

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limited means, as well as the circumscribed resources, of the various Christian missions which have been engaged in the work.

"The aggregate number of converts in Ceylon is no criterion as to the progress of Christianity; not only because these are not its sole indications, but because the tests on admission and the discipline afterwards differ, not only in different churches, but even amongst the different establishments of the same Christian mission. In addition to which, the missionaries themselves are fully aware of the fact, that amongst their nominal adherents there are numbers, whose life and inward feelings are at variance with their seeming profession, and who, though they may not fall under the designation of impostors, are far from being entitled to the denomination of Christians.

"Political changes are usually rapid, and often the offspring of a single cause; but all moral revolutions are of gradual development, and the result of innumerable agencies. Progressive growth is the law and process of Nature in all her grand operations. Philosophy, science, and art, all the moral and intellectual development of man, are progressive; and under the influence of Christianty itself, the march of civilization, though controlled and directed by its ascendency, is regulated by those eternal laws of social progress which have been ordained by Omnipotence.

"The pace may be slow and unequal, but the tendency is onward, and the result may be eventually rapidly developed; and such, it is my firm conviction, will be the effect of what is now in progress, not in Ceylon alone, but throughout the continent of India. A large proportion of the labour hitherto has been prospective, but its effects are already in incipient operation; and on all ordinary principles, a power once in motion, is calculated to gather velocity and momentum by its own career.

"When the time shall have arrived for the mighty masses of India to move with a more simultaneous impulse.

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t is impossible to calculate the effect; but looking to the nagnitude of the operations which have been so long in process, to the vastness of the agencies which have been organized, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the last conquests to Christianity may be achieved with incomparably greater rapidity than has marked its earlier progress, and signalized its first success; and that in the instance of India, 'the ploughman may overtake the reaper, the treader of grapes him that soweth the seed,' and the type of the prophet realized, that 'a nation shall be born in a day.'"

On reaching Columbo, on my return from Cotta, I accompanied Dr. M'Vicars to the Government House. He introduced me to Lord Torrington, who was holding a levee on the occasion of his departure for England. Many native magistrates, called Moodeliars, were present, dressed in splendid uniforms. Those to whom I was introduced were an intelligent class of men, and conversed in English with the utmost facility. His lordship appeared to me careworn and fatigued, and glad to get through a ceremony which could not, I suppose, be dispensed with.

The prison at Columbo, under the very able management of Mr. Green, appears to be admirably conducted. The reformation of offenders is kept steadily in view, and this is pursued more by a system of encouragements than of severity. The plan apparently succeeds well.

I returned from Columbo to Galle, and shortly afterwards had the pleasure of hearing that the *Haddington*, steamer, from India, had arrived on her way to Suez. I immediately engaged a passage to Southampton, at a charge of £94. Had I taken it only to Suez, with the view of remaining some time in Egypt, the cost would be £80, and £12 in addition, to the "Egyptian transit administration" to Alexandria, making £92; and then the cost from Alexandria to Southampton would be all extra. I therefore took my passage throughout, and obtained permission to remain one or two months in Egypt.

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Just prior to embarkation at Galle, I had the pleasure of taking an early dinner, in company with the Rev. Messrs. Clarke, Dixie, and Ripon, with Sir Anthony Oliphant, chief judge of Ceylon, and to whom I had been formerly introduced at the Cape, where he was then attorney-general. He had now just arrived from England, whither he had been summoned to give evidence in the case of Lord Torrington. I could not but be much gratified to observe the interest which both Sir Anthony and his lady, much to their honour, took in the subject of Christian Missions. Some men of high standing look on all such things with supercilious contempt. Sir A. Oliver is a keen observer, a shrewd lawyer, and above vulgar prejudices; and therefore does *not* despise missions.

The *Haddington* is a noble vessel, and exceedingly well managed, under the able command of Captain Field. We had about one hundred passengers on board, and the officers and crew amounted to about one hundred and eighty. Weather was for the first week against us, the wind squally; afterwards it set in remarkakably fine. The sea became as smooth as a lake, and the sky clear and deeply blue. The thermometer stood at 84°. Millions of flying fish were playing on the whole surface of the ocean, and continued to do so for several days. Our average progress was two hundred miles a day.

We were now approaching land. The island of Socotra was right before us—famous for its aloes, and many a "bitter pill" in human life. The north-eastern point of Africa, Cape Guardafui, was on our left. We passed between Socotra and Abd-el-Koory on our way to Aden, on the coast of Arabia Felix; a part of the country of the False Prophet, and where the crescent is still in the ascendent above the Cross.

We took in coal for our steamer, not at the town of Aden itself, but on the opposite side of the peninsula, near Ras-ibn-Tarshein. It is a wretched-looking country.

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it seems as if made of burnt cinders—a very suitable place for keeping a store of coals, that must in their turn become ashes too.

The peninsula on which Aden stands is about five miles across in one direction, and four in the other. The mountain Jebel Shamsan, 1770 feet high, extends over nearly the whole breadth of the island from east to west. But all the rocks and mountains of this region present a most desolate appearance. They are all volcanic, and unenlivened by any indication of vegetation. All is gloomy, sombre, and sterile; none but a very imaginative poet could dream of any "Sabæan odours," myrrh and frankincense, just there. And yet, as Dr. Wilson remarks, the scene is not wholly devoid of interest. "Great masses of dark-coloured volcanic rock and mountain rise before and behind on the peninsula of Aden, with peaks frequently turreted and castellated, in the wildest and most fantastic forms, with flanks bleak and bare as they appeared when first upheaved amidst the convulsions of nature, or first grazed with the lava streams that flowed on their surface."

Aden itself has a population of about 19,000 native inhabitants, and 1000 European. I had not time to cross the peninsula to visit it, but I found it described as situated in a remarkable locality, the bason or amphitheatre of volcanic rocks, or, in truth, on the crater of a volcano itself. The houses are very slight, and offer but few accommodations, according to our European notions of things. Glass windows are as yet unknown, and the apertures which admit light are just large enough to permit a few rays to creep in and make the darkness of the apartment visible. There are some few towers or minarets; wells and tanks have been numerous, many of which have become useless for want of care in preserving them. There are about 1000 Jews resident there, and 2000 Sumális. These latter are natives of a singular appearance from the opposite coast of Africa, near Guardafui. They are

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wretchedly clad, but are not wholly unprepossessing in their shape or manners. They are of a dark copper-colour as to skin, and their naturally black woolly hair they contrive to change into a light red or brownish yellow, by means of shell lime—the very reverse of the process of our civilized and fashionable hair dyes. They give their hair an upward and diverging twist in small knots—so as to make it a perfect resemblance to a well-trundled mop. That seemed quite the fashion, as most of the youths I saw in the boats off Aden wore their hair dressed in that style. We re-embarked and started for Suez.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

EGYPT.

ARABIAN GULF—PASSAGE OF THE ISRAELITES—SINAI—THE STEAMER—SUEZ—FUNERAL AT SUEZ—VANS FOR THE DESERT—CROSSING THE DESERT—REACHING CAIRO—EMOTIONS ON REACHING CAIRO—HOTEL D'ORIENT—REV. MR. LIEDER—OPHTHALMIA—TURKISH BATHS—VISIT TO THE PYRAMIDS—CHEOPS—SECOND PYRAMID—A NIGHT IN A TOMB—SAKHARA — MEMPHIS — TORAH — BEZATEEN — COPTIC CHURCH—GREEK CHURCH—ENGLISH EPISCOPAL SERVICE—CITADEL—ANECDOTE—OLD CAIRO—ANECDOTE—MOSQUES—GENERAL APPEARANCE—PREPARATIONS TO VISIT PALESTINE—INSURRECTION AT ALEPPO—EARLY EGYPT NOT IDOLATROUS—CURIOSITIES—TETRAWAN—NEW PALACE—HELIOPOLIS—OBELISK—BALBEIS—CAMELS—WELLS AND WOMEN—ROBBERS—EL ARISH.

After leaving Aden we soon came within sight of the islets near the entrance to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and afterwards we got a tolerably good view of Mocha, the celebrated town of Mocha, which lies on the coast of Arabia Felix, and at a distance, at any rate, looks well. Its houses are whitewashed, and have flat roofs. There are several minarets. It is surrounded by a strong stone wall. It is noted for its fruits, which are brought from the interior. Its sheep are imported from Abyssinia, and its rice from India. It has much commercial importance at present, which however may diminish as Aden becomes the seat of British influence and enterprise.

We had most delightful weather up the Arabian Gulf, and proceeded rapidly towards our destination. I delivered a discourse on board, on the Sunday morning on which we were passing up the Red Sea, and selected as the subject the Psalmist's review of the wonders God

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wrought for Israel, in delivering them out of Egypt and conducting them through the Red Sea. Psa. cvi. 7—10. I thought the circumstances of our locality more than justified the selection of that historical subject.

We continued our course up the Red Sea, and of necessity crossed that portion of it where, in the opinion of some, the miraculous passage of the Israelites under Moses was effected, namely a few miles south of Suez, and where the sea is about six or seven miles across. This opinion has always appeared to me the best sustained of the various views which have been cherished on this perplexing subject. It can never now, I apprehend, become a matter of *certainty*, nor is this of any serious importance. But the explanation which supposes that the Israelites proceeded to the south of the spot where Suez now stands, and came out through the defile near the Wadi Tawarik, then turned towards Ras Atakah, and crossed the sea nearly opposite to Ain Musa, "the fountain of Moses," seems to me to satisfy the conditions of the case as stated by the sacred writers, and as implied in local names and traditions.

It was sufficient to awaken emotions and associations of deep interest in every thoughtful mind, that although it might be impossible to assign the exact localities of these ancient events, we were certainly in the *vicinity* of those hallowed spots, where scenes of such imperishable interest had occurred.

For some time we lost sight of land both on the Arabian and the African side of the Gulf; then entered the Gulf of Suez by the Straits of Jubal, leaving Ras Mohamed on our right, the headland that forms the southern point of the Peninsula of Sinai. The mountain range that embraces Sinai is a magnificent object. Our captain took pains to point out to the passengers the summits of what he judged to be Jebel Musa and Jebel Katharin, so far as they are laid down in the charts.

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As I had no intention of visiting that part of the journeyings of the children of Israel, I was glad to have caught even a brief glimpse of the region where "the Lord descended on Sinai," and his law was proclaimed amidst thunders and lightnings and voices. Could I have realized my wishes, I would have pursued my journey amidst those localities, crossed the Desert of El Tih, the desert of "the wanderings," and gazed on the stupendous wonders of Petra and Edom; but I had made my choice of Cairo and Jerusalem, and therefore sought to neutralise my regrets on leaving reluctantly what I could not further enjoy, by indulging more largely the thoughts and the anticipations of the engrossing scenes which yet awaited me.

We were now shortly to leave the steamer, and I must say, I could not but admire the excellence and perfection of its arrangements. The utmost punctuality was invariably observed, so conducive to the convenience, the comfort, and the good temper of passengers. Everything connected with the business of crossing so large a portion of the ocean, in a splendid and noble vessel, having so large a company on board—passengers, officers, and crew—seemed to be worked as easily and harmoniously, as the steam-engine itself, of 450 horse power, by which we were propelled. Of those in charge of the vessel, or having arrangements to make for the passengers, every one seemed to know his duty instinctively, and to perform it almost mechanically. All were busy, yet without collision or confusion. There was work for all, yet none seemed oppressed. Even the business of putting up the awnings on deck, and the taking them down, was done with exactness of movements like clock-work; the boatswain's whistle and deep bass voice, and the piper's fife, were all exactly in tune; lounging-chairs of all descriptions were there for the luxury of the passengers, and a tolerable supply of books worth reading might be found in the ship's library.

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It speaks much for the excellent management and good temper of the captain and officers, that not a single case had been brought on quarter-deck for adjudication for more than fifteen months. I think that the captain was well entitled to the letter of acknowledgment which all the passengers signed on leaving the vessel. As soon as we had dropped anchor at Suez, several native boats came alongside, and in about an hour we reached the jetty from the steamer, at a cost of two shillings each. A small carpet-bag is allowed to be taken by each passenger, as luggage, in proceeding by the transit vans from Suez to Cairo—the only portion of the route which is strictly overland. All the rest of the luggage is sent forward by camels, and the passengers have nothing more to do with it from the time of its being put on the deck of the steamer, till it reaches Cairo; nor, indeed, there, unless they are themselves remaining at that city; and in that case, the luggage, having been carefully marked accordingly, is put aside at Boulac, the port of Cairo, and not shipped on board the Nile steamer.

From Suez the passengers are conveyed in vans or small omnibuses across the Desert to Cairo. As there are not sufficient vans to take all the passengers at once, parties of six each, the number each van carries, are made up before quitting the steamer, and lots are then drawn to decide the order of precedence in starting, and so to prevent confusion.

My principal engagement at Suez was of a melancholy character. A respectable woman, house-keeper for many years in the family of Lord Torrington, had died that morning, and as we were then at no great distance from land, it was very properly arranged that her remains should be buried on shore, rather than consigned to the deep. The Rev. A. H. Allcock, E.I.C. Chaplain, one of our passengers, and with whom I had had much agreeable intercourse on board, would have performed the burial service, but as he

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was anxious to proceed at once by an early van, and my turn would not come for some hours afterwards, he and Lord Torrington requested me to undertake the service: of course I consented. The burial ground provided for Europeans lies at the head of the bay, and we had some little distance to proceed over the shallows. It was after sunset when we put off from the jetty; the men rowed some distance, then pushed the boat with poles to a spot where it is nearly dry ground, and then carried us on their shoulders the rest of the way.

Instructions had been sent forward, and the grave was already dug. Part of the crew brought the corpse forward to that dreary spot. A native stood by, holding a light,—consisting of pieces of wood blazing on a brazier, or open grate, fixed at the top of a pole. It enabled me to read a portion of Scripture, and part of the church service for the burial of the dead. The body was committed to its resting-place, and the grave was immediately filled up. Lord Torrington requested the captain of the steamer, who had also attended, to give instructions for the erection of a suitable monument and head-stone.

We returned as we came. The man that carried me took care to lose no time in asking for "backsheesh"—a gift. I observed he began to pant or breathe rather heavily, as if he wished to impress me with an idea that he was groaning under a very heavy load! I promised to give him something at the end of his services. I did so, and his fatigue soon vanished.

By the time we returned to the hotel, the first set of vans, consisting of five, had started, and in three hours afterwards the second division commenced the tour. My turn and that of the rest of the party came about midnight, and I left Suez nothing loth. Suez is a place of no interest, beyond that connected with the transit of passengers. It had lately suffered much from cholera. It was reported that, out of 2500 inhabitants, upwards of 1000 had fallen victims,—a fatality arising, no doubt, from the want of

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precautionary measures, besides want of cleanliness, medicine, and care.

Before we left Suez all the luggage was despatched on camels to Cairo. We found an immense number of them ready for starting, when we first landed. It occasioned no little stir, and apparent confusion, with ample noise and clamour, yet the whole matter was soon and satisfactorily adjusted.

We continued our journey across the Desert all night, and a dreary, desolate ride I found it to be: sand and pebbles all the way; nothing green, nothing alive; the country is level nearly the whole distance, and where the construction of a railway could occasion no expense of cuttings. The Egyptian Government is macadamizing the road from Cairo towards Suez. About ten or twelve miles are completed. This has cost £10,000. The work is still in hand, but whether there will be vigour and resources to complete the whole distance, I know not.

Each van is supplied with four horses, a driver, and attendant, whose services we found to be in frequent requisition. We changed horses every five miles. I think we had in all fifteen or sixteen sets of horses, and some of them were jaded enough. The poor brutes seemed to have extra duty to do, in consequence of the unusually large number of passengers now crossing the Desert. We met on our way great numbers proceeding to Suez, who had just arrived at Alexandria from England, and immense trains of baggage.

We were about nineteen hours on the journey. If the roads were good throughout, ten hours would suffice, with two hours more for refreshments. We had a slight repast about three in the morning, breakfast about eight, and dinner at three in the afternoon. This is all provided at the expense of the Egyptian Administration, and is included in the cost of conveyance charged by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company to each passenger. I found nothing to interest one in the

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line of road. The whole distance appears to have been once covered with ocean.

On reaching Cairo I proceeded to the European Hotel, which had been recommended to me on the passage; but I found it full—they had not a bed to spare. I went next to the Hotel d'Orient, found comfortable accommodation, and there I remained during my stay in Cairo.

And thus I found myself, almost to my astonishment, actually in Egypt; actually in the ancient oriental city of Cairo! At length, after many journeyings and voyagings, not at all beyond my *wishes*, but far beyond any expectations I had ever seriously cherished, I found myself under the merciful protection of the "Father of spirits," there in the midst of a land of such surpassing interest, such marvellous antiquity, and such instructive revolutions. I could scarcely recognise my feelings and emotions, much less could I analyse them. I felt elated and thankful to be permitted to be there. I anticipated much from my visit, and I realised more than I anticipated. It will continue to fill my mind with images, associations, and reminiscences during the rest of the journey of life; and I felt sure that I should realise new and vivid impressions in connexion with Biblical scenes, both of history and of prophecy, which would most amply repay me for all the toil connected with this portion of my tour. I entered Egypt, too, with the hope that I might also visit Palestine. That would be the consummation of my wishes. But even if I found, from any cause, that to be impracticable, I thought I had gained a point worth obtaining, to be now in the land whither Abraham went down in a time of famine—where the Israelites so long sojourned—where the Jewish Legislator was trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and from whence God brought forth his chosen tribes, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. I felt that it was a point worth gaining, to be on a visit in a land that occupied so prominent a position in the Sacred Volume,—a land that seems long to have preserved the purity of an early patriarchal

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religion—that afterwards degenerated in its doctrines, and sank down to the meanest forms of polytheism—that has for ages been impoverished, feeble, corrupt, and enslaved, and yet that seems destined by the counsels of Heaven to rise again, and share a blessing in common with other favoured lands.

It was something to be in the famous oriental city of Cairo—amidst its palaces, and mosques, and minarets—its bazaars and its baths—close by the marvellous Nile, a river scarcely surpassed in interest by any stream in the world—to be within sight of the far-famed Pyramids, and the tombs of the caliphs and the Memlook kings—surrounded on every hand by antiquities so venerable, as to create the illusion that you were yet living amidst generations that have slept for centuries or millenniums, but whose magic works are fresh as those of yesterday.

And now at the Hotel d'Orient, with windows wide open all night, and the air cool and pleasant, I enjoyed a night's repose; then rose early, and set out for Boulac to procure my luggage. My dragoman obtained two donkeys, and for the first time for many a long year, I found myself magnificently seated on one of those most serviceable and, as I thought them, willing and good-tempered creatures. I found my luggage all right, and soon returned with it, by the aid of stout porters, to my apartments. I did not find their demand exorbitant, and love the genuine English feeling of rewarding men, whatever be their colour, for their labour, ay, and giving them a little over, if they work cheerfully and well. I have an instinctive and unconquerable aversion to be imposed on and I hate an exaggerated demand; but welcome all that rather than procure one atom of relief from toil, or save one sordid farthing, at the price of another's unpaid toil. I saw nothing in Egypt to abate my abhorrence of slavery.

I next proceeded to make an early call on the Rev. Mr. Lieder, and his excellent lady, of the Church Missionary Society, residing in premises of that Society in the Coptic

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ıarter of Cairo, and from whom I received a most kind ıd Christian welcome, not only to Cairo, but to their ›use and domestic comforts. I felt unwilling to obtrude .yself so far as to accept their invitation, but I promised would pay them a frequent visit. I arranged to pass the ⁊ening with them, and to meet there a gentleman from ıdia, who had just returned from Syria, and could give ıe recent information as to route, packets, steamers, &c. visited the two schools on their premises, one for boys, ıe other for girls, consisting of about eighty or ninety of he former, and upwards of one hundred of the latter. A ew of the lads to whom I spoke, read some English flu-ntly, and perfectly understood all I said to them. One ›f the things that struck me somewhat painfully, on enter-ng the school-rooms, was the almost universal disease of he eyes which prevails. Ophthalmia seems to afflict all in Egypt—old and young. I met many in the streets who are quite blind, others partially so, many squinting, and nearly all the rest either near-sighted or having some malady of the eyes. I returned to my hotel to breakfast, and then made my arrangements for visiting the Pyramids the next day. In the afternoon I enjoyed the luxury of a Turkish bath, a very needful means of purification after a voyage in the steamer, and a journey across the Desert. No outward appearance or sign indicated that the house was a bathing establishment. My dragoman conducted me to it, and assured me it was a good one. Similar ones are very numerous in Cairo, but this happened to be within an easy walk from the hotel. Having passed through a winding passage, I entered the central room, where the very proper and precautionary measures of undressing and re-dressing are performed. A lofty divan, of about four feet from the ground, occupies the side of the room all round, and on which are stretched mattresses for reposing on coming out of the bath, and on which one is rubbed and shampooed. Having undressed, and being supplied with a long turban, wooden clogs, and some

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loose shawls thrown over the body, you are conducted by a guide through two or three other passages, over a stone floor streaming with warm water, into the inner room, where you are directed to descend into the bath. The hot vapour of the room makes one pause to fetch breath. You go down by a step or two into the bath itself, and find the water as hot as can be borne without pain. In a short time the attendant comes and beckons you out of the "cauldron," and points to a marble slab on which to lie down. You obey, and are then well rubbed with shaggy gloves; then soaped, scrubbed well, and again put into the cauldron. Emerging from it a second time, you are led to the central room, lie down on the mattress, and being covered with three or four thin shawls, undergo the process of shampooing, pulling, and twisting; the fingers, hands, arms, legs, and toes, are all rubbed and twisted in turn, the shoulders pulled, the back bent, arms placed behind the back, crossed and pulled, and many joints made to crack; then after being rubbed thoroughly dry, you dress, take a cup of coffee, and, if so disposed, a few whiffs from the shibouk, pay two shillings for the bath, give the attendant a gratuity, and retire refreshed and invigorated like a giant for a race.

I set out about eight o'clock next morning for the long-contemplated and wished-for object—never so near before, and even then scarcely realised—a visit to the Pyramids,—the marvellous Pyramids—one of the great wonders of the world, presenting stupendous edifices to the eye, and inscrutable mysteries to the contemplative mind. My guide procured three donkeys and their respective attendants, two boys and a Nubian man-servant, swarthy as the darkest-coloured race of mortals need be, with an Ethiopian's skin such as neither soap nor nitre could change. We took with us provision for a couple of days' excursion, for sight-seeing, even in Egypt itself, does not neutralise the appetite. I took also a prodigiously large and warm wrapper, called a "capoty," made in Syria, which Mrs. Lieder kindly insisted on my using during the night.

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Leaving the Esbekeyah, the handsomest square in Cairo, proceeded towards Old Cairo (Fustat), passed by the palace Soliman Pasha, and came down to the edge of the Nile. ere, amidst no little noisy altercation between ferrymen d people waiting to start, and others just arriving, my agoman succeeded in getting a boat, into which I jumped, d our three donkeys were made to jump also; and in a ort time we had crossed the stream, within sight of the and Rhoda, where Moses is said to have been concealed in e bulrush ark; and were on our way to Gizeh. We again ossed in a boat the canal of Gizeh; and then, as the aters of the Nile were still high, and covered the land, though subsiding and leaving a rich soil at its ebb, our ath lay along an embankment or dyke, artificially raised, id along which causeway many were passing and repassing ith loaded camels, donkeys, mules, and horses. All emed activity. At length we reached a part of the embankment where we must again take a boat, and were etained an hour in doing so. We were then on the aters of the lake, which run on beyond Sakhara, where ie bodies of the dead of the ancient metropolis of Egypt, lemphis, were conveyed, or ferried over, for interment in he tombs on the hill near the pyramid of Sakhara and its icinity, constituting all that part of the country one vast iecropolis. And *there* is affirmed to be the famous spot, whence originated the fables in the Grecian mythology, oncerning Charon, and Styx, and Acheron.

Having sailed about two miles on the lake, we landed, and proceeded direct to the great pyramid of Cheops. Some stout Bedouin Arabs met us, and then their Sheik. It was agreed that three men should accompany me, and I found their services most essential. There were upwards of two hundred steps to take in the ascent, averaging rather more than two feet each. I found it necessary to pause and fetch breath two or three times in going up, and felt sincerely glad when the task was accomplished, when I stood on the summit and gazed on the wondrous

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scene around me. Not till then had I obtained anything like a just and impressive conception of the enormous magnitude of this stupendous pile of masonry. I had read that the base of this pyramid must be of about the same extent as the square of Lincoln's inn fields—that the quantity of stone employed in its erection must be eighty-five millions cubic feet, or in weight six millions of tons—that twenty years were consumed in its erection—that one hundred thousand men worked at a time, and were relieved every three months; but a *sight* of it gave me an impression that no written descriptions can convey,—at least it has given me an impression that I think, in vividness and force, can never be lost. The only drawback I felt to the enjoyment, was the incessant worry and annoyance of the people for "backsheesh" (gifts).

The scene presented to the eye from the summit is magnificent. The atmosphere is so clear, that objects are distinctly seen from an unusually great distance. The great valley of the Nile is spread out to view on one side, and on the other, the Lybian desert, an ocean of interminable and shifting sands, meets the horizon. Nature's luxuriance smiles on the one hand, and her inhospitable desert repels you, as a fearful contrast, on the other.

After descending, I entered the pyramid, and visited the chambers of the mighty dead. The entrances and passages have been so abundantly and accurately described by various writers, especially Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that I should deem it superfluous to attempt anything of the kind. I will only add, that I visited the granite-walled chambers of the king, and saw the empty sarcophagus supposed to have contained, originally, the remains of Cheops, by whom, it is believed, the pyramid had been constructed. According to Sir G. Wilkinson, Cheops ascended the throne of Egypt 2123 years before the Christian era.

I next paid a visit to the second great pyramid, whose apex is still cased with a facing of mortar. This casing

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gs projecting over the portion of masonry immediately ow it, and renders the ascent there extremely difficult dangerous to an unpractised hand. Of course I did attempt it; but my guides were clamorous that I would them do it in five minutes, and give them "back- esh" for their trouble. I told the man who was most cious to give this display of his agility, and obtain the , that I was unwilling to tempt him to risk breaking neck, and leave his wife a widow, and his children herless. He smiled, but assured me he had no fear on at ground, and if I would only pay him, he would take the consequences. I offered a shilling, and up the man ent, climbing away, till he so diminished in sight, as to ok like a jackall, as my dragoman remarked, calling it, owever, "shackall;" and exactly at the expiration of five inutes he was at the top, shouting his huzza. He brought e a specimen of the casing, and received his reward. There is a good deal of granite, or rather syenite, used in ne construction of this pyramid.

I then visited several of the tombs in the neighbour- ood of these pyramids, and saw the black basalt sarco- hagi, noticed by all the various writers on the antiquities of these lócalities. It was near here, that the gold ring earing the name of Suphis (the same as Cheops), was found, and which is now in possession of Dr. Abbott, of Cairo. Not far from this is the Sphinx, cut out of the solid rock, before whose immense, but not revolting fea- tures, I stood for some time silently gazing on this enor- mous mass,—this emblematic representation of combined intelligence and power, *i. e.* of mental and physical force, and hence emblematically denoting the sovereign of the country.

I found all this wandering about, and the excitement of novelty and interest, extremely fatiguing, and gladly sought rest in one of the ancient tombs, cut in the scarf of the rock on which the second pyramid stands. It is often used for the same purpose. It is an excavation about six

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feet deep by eight feet long, and, perhaps, eight feet broad. I had brought a coverlet and some warm clothing for the night, so there I sat down. The men and boys took charge of the donkeys below; my guide prepared the evening meal, and, having paid respectful attentions to it, I tried to compose myself to sleep, but in vain; the mind was too much excited by all I had seen, and all that surrounded me at the moment. There, at the entrance of the tomb, sat the Sheikh of the village, who had attended me through the day, and who had kindly invited me to his house for the night; there were many loquacious natives around the spot,—for some other travellers were also at the Pyramids; and there, stretched out before me, the extensive plain, reaching to the Lybian desert. The night was fine, not cold, and not admitting the use of all the warm clothing I had brought with me. Besides all that, I found, to my annoyance, Egypt is *still* Egypt, and its very dust seems instinct with life; fleas, flies, and mosquitoes understand their profession without any mistake, and enjoy their instinctive appetites with as much *goût* as ever; and all that to the traveller's cost. My head and face were stung through the night, as though some malignant fairies were ever and anon whisking me with stinging-nettles, and laughing the more saucily when I cried a truce.

Rising before daylight, and taking some refreshment, I set out across the plain for Abouseer, rather more than seven miles to the south of the Great Pyramid. The pyramids of Abouseer are about a mile to the north of the village. I felt no particular inducement to inspect them, but passed forward to Sakhara, where the chief objects of interest are found, the Mummy Pits, many of which are continually being opened, and their contents exhumed;—they are ibis, oxen and sheep, cat and serpent mummies, and those of other animals also. The ibises (which my guide preferred designating "*gooses*") have been put into earthen jars, like our refining sugar-pots, with lids. Inside these are the mummies, wrapped in the old native

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loth of Egypt; and some of these are very perfect in ex· erior appearance. The human mummy-pits are also very iumerous at Sakhara. The ground is covered with the ragments of bones, skulls, cloth, jars, and coffins. Many objects of curiosity are found there. Some few are of value, and it is to procure these that the Arabs are now so busy exhuming the remains of the long-deceased and long-buried inhabitants of ancient Egypt. There seems in this something revolting. One could wish these slumbering ashes might have been left to repose till awakened by the trumpet-sound of the archangel. Their present treatment gratifies curiosity, finds employment to a few natives, who obtain a scanty livelihood by this traffic in the cerements and ornaments of the dead; and, what we deem of more importance, they bring out, unconsciously, many illustrations of Scripture, and demonstrations of its truth.

The Pyramids of Dashoor I saw at the distance of about six miles, but my time did not allow me to visit them.

Directing my steps homeward, I wished to visit the ruins of ancient Memphis, especially to see the famous statue of Sesostris, discovered by Signior Caviglia and Mr. Sloane. But the state of the inundation of the Nile rendered this impracticable, as nearly the whole of the statue was still under water.

I passed over an immense tract of land, evidently once occupied with human habitations, once instinct with life and intellect, but where only ruins now remain—mementos of the past generations of men, and of the evanescent character of all human greatness. All this site belonged to the ancient city of Memphis, which must have been indeed of large extent.

I was anxious to cross the Nile about this point, that I might come to the village of Torah, in the immediate neighbourhood of which the quarries exist in the Mokattam range of hills, from whence the stones were obtained for the erection of the pyramids, but could not obtain a boat to cross from the Sakhara side of the canal, or sheet of

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water, that must be crossed at that season before reaching the Nile. Could I have crossed there, and the Nile also, in the same direction, I should have come immediately upon what is supposed to have been the scene of the labours of the ancient Israelites. I was forced to cross the Nile nearer to Cairo, after continuing my route along the embankment to a spot beyond the sheet of water already alluded to, and did not then proceed back again along the side of the Nile to which I crossed to visit the locality of Torah. I saw it at the distance of two or three miles. I came then upon Bezateen, where the Jews have their burial-place, and evidently of great antiquity. This I walked over with much interest. It is a large piece of ground, and covered with grave-stones bearing inscriptions in Hebrew, of the Syrian character, and of others much more ancient, as it would seem.

I then returned to my hotel again, took a warm bath, —so recruiting after two fatiguing days, and passed the "balance" of the evening with my friends the Lieders, and talked over arrangements for a visit to the Holy Land.

Next day was Sunday, and I went early in the morning to the *Coptic* church. The service commences about daylight. I was not there quite so early; but many came in after me. In fact, some were moving about the whole time; and the painful impression this produced on my mind was, that there could be but little of serious and earnest religion in the minds of the worshippers. It seemed like going mechanically through a routine of service, in which the affections of the heart were not much engaged. The church, as a building, was not large. It was lighted with lamps and candles; but the light itself was dim. I should say it was altogether *very* dim. The walls were ornamented with pictures, which did not seem to me to possess much merit as works of art, and less as aids to devotion. The service—the liturgical service—was being read in Coptic; the gospel and epistles were read in Arabic. An officer was burning incense and offering it, with many profound

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bows, to the patriarch. Worshippers, as they came in, bowed down before him, touched the ground with their foreheads, and rose up to receive his benediction. I felt disgusted, I confess, with this abject servility on the part of the people, and the imperturbable dignity of the patriarch in being worshipped in the temple of God, as if he were God or a representative of God, in a far different sense from that which Paul the apostle felt when he said, "Now, then, as ambassadors for Christ, as his representatives, we beseech you, be ye reconciled to God." It was painful to find that no women were present. They do not enter the inner court of the church. The only women I saw near there were sitting just at the entrance, and begging alms. They seemed to have nothing whatever to do with the service, but were waiting to obtain some small donations.

I understood from Mr. Lieder that his edition of the Four Gospels, in the Coptic, has been carried through the press in England by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and is much esteemed and used by these Coptic Christians. This word "Coptic" seems to be a corruption of the old term "Egyptic," which, omitting the initial letter "E," becomes "Gyptic," pronounced "Goptic," of which "Coptic" is a mere modification. The Copts are said to be the descendants of the early Christians of Egypt—Egyptian Christians—who have regarded Mark as their Apostle. The Coptic population of Egypt may amount to 200,000 souls; but in Cairo it is thought there are not more than 10,000 or 15,000. Sir G. Wilkinson, however, gives their number at 60,000. They are found most numerously in Upper Egypt, where they constitute, to a large extent, the village population.

From the Coptic church I proceeded to the Greek church, which is a modern, spacious, and splendid building. Service had commenced; but on entering I was politely directed to a spot where I could obtain a full view of all that passed, near the chair of the patriarch. There seemed more life and earnestness among the worshippers. All took part

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in the service, nearly the whole of which was chanted. The priests or readers commenced the passage by a few impressive notes, and were then joined by the whole congregation. The voices were harmonious, and the effect, as a whole, was animated and pleasing; and yet, to my mind, the constant bowing of the worshippers, their incessantly making the sign of the cross on the forehead and the chest, was an interruption. It was as if the congregation was performing a series of gymnastic exercises of a somewhat quiet kind, fit for a Sunday. Some of the worshippers were slowly pacing round the walls inside, and devoutly bowing and crossing themselves before the pictures of the saints. The congregation was standing during the whole service. The patriarch led several portions of it. Incense was offered to him, as in the Coptic church, and just as it also is in the Roman Catholic churches. There was a lofty gallery, occupied exclusively by the female part of the congregation. Their angelic elevation prevented my getting any very distinct view of them. There were not many present; but they were taking part in the service, in the same manner as the men, as I perceived by their movements.

From the Greek church I returned to my hotel, took breakfast, and then attended the English episcopal service. It was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Krusé, Mr. Lieder's associate. Mr. K. delivered a sound and valuable discourse. The congregation did not amount to more than thirty or forty persons; but still it seemed like light in the midst of the surrounding dimness and darkness. It formed a witness for God and truth, amidst much error and delusion. I trust the Church Missionary Society will still maintain this important station. Not only would it be the loss of much valuable labour to abandon it now, after so much has been expended on it, but it would involve the removal of the only faithful exhibition of the truth in the midst of the too formal and deteriorated churches of the East.

On the Sunday evening I gave an address in a spacious room in Mr. Lieder's house. In addition to the members

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of Mr. Lieder's family, and a few Europeans, there were also present several of the young men who had been trained by Mr. Lieder in his institution, but who are mostly identified with the Greek Church.

The next day I visited the Citadel, and the various objects of special interest there; among these the most prominent is the magnificent mosque now building, and in which are deposited the remains of Mehemet Ali. The dome is very splendid, and the colouring of the painting exceedingly rich. The mosque is an open square, surrounded by a single row of columns, all of polished Oriental alabaster. The architects have been Europeans, but all the workmanship is performed by Arabs. Many years have been consumed on the building, and many more must elapse before its completion. The remains of Mehemet Ali are inclosed within a temporary railing in one corner of the building. A very splendid chandelier from France is suspended in a room of his palace, to be placed over the tomb when the mosque is finished. I visited also the palace of the late pasha. It is not now inhabited. Although not in the perfect taste of European palaces, it is not altogether devoid of beauty and splendour. The drawing-room is magnificent. The present viceroy, Abbas Pasha, has held his court there.

The view from the platform of the citadel is most delightful and extensive. It commands Cairo with its numerous mosques and minarets, the Arsenal, the Roomaylee, the splendid mosque of Sultan Hassan, and in the distance the Pyramids, the Lybian hills, and the valley of the Nile to Sakhara on the south, and to the point of the Delta on the north.

The spot also is shown near the Roomaylee gate, where Emir Bey escaped, during the fearful massacre of the Mamelukes (or Memlooks) in March, 1811, by leaping his horse over a gap in the wall, which was at that time much dilapidated.*

* At the time of the massacre of the Memlooks, Soolayman Agha

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I next visited Old Cairo, about three miles from the comparatively modern city of Cairo. It stands on the site where anciently Egyptian Babylon stood, and the Roman station, south of the mosque of Amer, is the fortress which was besieged by the Moslem invader. That mosque is the oldest built in Egypt. It is square, with colonnades round the four sides. At the east end are six rows of columns, and altogether there are not less than 230. The mosque has undergone many repairs; and, in connexion with those made by Murad Bey, an anecdote worth reading is related by Sir G. Wilkinson.*

The two columns, standing inside the square within ten inches of each other, near the entrance, were pointed out to me, between which it is said, all Mussulmans can pass. Of course unbelievers cannot. I should be sorry to be

was already a friend of Mahommed Ali's, from whom he received an indirect intimation "not to go to the Citadel" on that occasion, and as soon as order had been restored in Cairo, the Pasha made diligent search for him, hoping to find he had escaped the indiscriminate slaughter of his comrades. A confidential messenger conducted him to Mahommed Ali. He was overjoyed to see him, and his first question was respecting his escape. "I disguised myself as a woman," said the Memlook. "How!—with that voice, and that beard? I am sure I should have discovered you." "I think not," was the reply; and the conversation then turned to other matters. A few days after this, a stranger, dressed in the usual veil and black habbarah of the Cairene women, appeared before the pasha, complaining of ill-treatment from her husband. He pronounced judgment in the case, and orders were given that the injured wife should be relieved from her husband's injustice; when the complainant, throwing up the veil, and disclosing the face of a man, asked the pasha if he acknowledged himself deceived by the voice and appearance of Soolayman Agha. This incident was the cause of great merriment to the pasha and his Memlook friends.

* "The mosque has undergone several repairs, and in Murad Bey's time, who was the last restorer of its crumbling walls, some Cufic MSS. were discovered while excavating the substructions, written on the finest parchment.

"The origin of their discovery, and the cause of these repairs, are thus related by M. Marcell:—'Murad Bey being destitute of the

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ut to the test, and I think many others in Cairo would lso, even the devout believers in the prophet, unless ubjected to some very rigid mode of fasting, as prepara-ory to the experiment.

I went to see the tomb of the family of Mahommed Ali. His remains are in the new mosque in the citadel, but several members of his family repose in the family tomb, of which I now speak. Here are two of his sons—Toossoom, (the father of Abbas Pasha, now viceroy,) and Ismail; also his son-in-law, the fierce Defterdar Bey, his sister, first wife, and many others. The tomb is carpeted, and, as I was not asked to take my shoes off, the edge of the carpet was carefully turned up, that I might not defile it by my profane and unbelieving feet. In the mosque of Hassan, the largest and handsomest in Cairo, the door-keepers provided me, on entering the building, with a large pair of rough overall shoes, made of common matting, which exempted me from the necessity of taking off my own. I had simply to slip about in these substitutes. This mosque is a vast and lofty edifice. The exterior, however, seemed to me far superior to the interior. Iama

means of carrying on the war against his rival Ibrahim, sought to replenish his coffers by levying a large sum from the Jews of Cairo. To escape from his exactions, they had recourse to stratagem. After assuring him they had not a single para, they promised, on condition of abstaining from his demands, to reveal a secret which would make him possessor of immense wealth.

"'His word was given, and they assured him that certain archives mentioned a large iron chest, deposited in the mosque of Amer, either by its founder or by one of his successors in the government of Egypt, which was filled with invaluable treasure. Murad Bey went immediately to the mosque, and, under the plea of repairs, excavated the spot indicated by his informants, where, in fact, he found a secret underground chamber, containing an iron chest, half destroyed by rust, and full—not of gold—but of manuscript leaves of the Koran, on vellum of a beautiful quality, written in fine Cufic characters.' This treasure was not one to satisfy the cupidity of the Memlook Bey, and it was left to the Sheikh of the mosque, by whom it was sold to different individuals."

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te Soltan Hassan, is its proper designation. It stands immediately below the citadel. Some dark stains on the floor were pointed out to me as indicating the places where several Mamelukes were killed, who had fled there in vain, as to an asylum, in the destruction of their body in 1811.

Besides those more prominent objects of special interest in Cairo which I have already noticed, there were others, scarcely inferior, that daily attracted my attention during my stay; such as, for example, the strictly Oriental and Saracenic character of the city itself, the narrow streets, innumerable bazaars, the four hundred mosques and minarets, (though many are in ruins,) the picturesque style of the buildings generally, the elaborate fretwork of the projecting windows in most houses, the endless variety of costume, the thronging multitude in the streets, the public fountains, the numerous cafés, the lounging of the Turks at their shop fronts and doors, the singular dresses of the different classes of civil and military officers, the strangely uninviting vests and dresses of the female portion of the population, the files of camels, the water-carriers, the *tout ensemble* of the city. There is about all this an indescribable charm of novelty, an impressiveness that one can only realise by being actually on the spot, and the minute detail of which would be insufferably tedious.

I had now, after much inquiry, made up my mind to return to England through Syria. It was my highest wish to pass a little time in the Holy Land, "to stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem," whither the ancient tribes of Israel went up; and to glance at some of these localities, rendered the most memorable in the history of our world, by their connexion with the history of man's redemption.

I ascertained that it was not probable I should find any vessel at the time at Alexandria or Damietta, proceeding to the coast of Palestine, and I had better prepare for a journey across the Desert from Cairo to El Arish, and from thence to Jerusalem. There I should be able to ascertain

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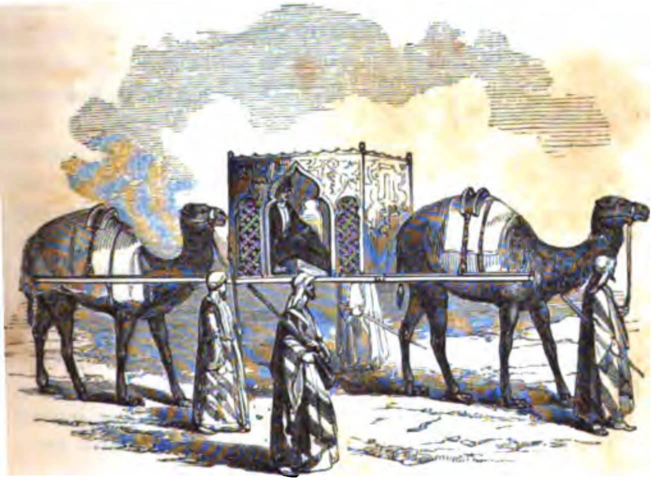
ıether I must proceed to Jaffa, or to Beirut, in order to eet with conveyances to Europe.

Mrs. Lieder most kindly undertook to make all the quisite arrangements for my journey, such as procuring suitable attendant (dragoman), engaging sheikhs, with ıen and camels, and purchasing all the various supplies hich I should need during my journey of about fifteen ays, which would be occupied in reaching Jerusalem. 'oreseeing that riding that length of time on the back ıf a camel would be attended with more fatigue and nconvenience than I was anxious to indulge in, I readily ıccepted the suggestion of travelling in a tetrawan



(takhtarawan), a sort of palanquin, carried by means of long poles, between two camels. The conveyance is swung between these useful but extraordinary animals, in *tandem* style, that is, not between them abreast of each other, but so suspended as to swing between the tail of the first and the nose of the second, as in the above engraving.

We had some difficulty in obtaining a good and confi-

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dential attendant for the journey. I was just closing an arrangement with one, when he rose in his demands, and became, it was thought, exorbitant. He had asked £35 to take me to Jerusalem, providing all the requisite camels, men, provisions, &c., and the tetrawan. As he had difficulty in procuring this latter means of conveyance, I offered to purchase one for myself at £10, to pay £30, and make him a present of the tetrawan at the end of the journey, if I found that he had been a faithful and diligent attendant. However, he declined it, and seemed indisposed to go at any remuneration. He said, he feared the rains and the cold weather coming on. Besides all this, the present was the season for parties to proceed *up* the Nile, usually a three months' excursion. Good dragomen were therefore much in demand; they know their own value, and are quite competent to make a good bargain for themselves.

Just at this time news reached Cairo of an insurrection in Aleppo against the Christians, which was said to be extending into Syria as far as Jerusalem. It was said that a violent and bigoted Mussulman, Abdallah Bey, had been exciting a tumult against the Christians, insisting on their wearing the distinctive and opprobrious badge of a black turban, and a particular kind of dress, and ceasing to ride on horses or mules, and using only donkeys, as in former times, under less liberal governments than the present. Finding the Christians refusing to submit to such exactions, the Mahommedans rose against them, committed many gross offences against the Christian families, attended with robbery, and in some cases with murder. General Bem, of Hungarian fame, the commander of the city, had not sufficient troops to quell the insurrection. He threatened to bombard the town, and ultimately did so. The Christian part of the inhabitants defended themselves in the city against the Mussulmans, but those in the suburbs suffered severely, and their churches were burnt to the ground.

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With such intelligence, it was deemed advisable to wait a few days, just to ascertain that there would be no serious risk incurred by a visit to Palestine. And then, satisfactory information having been received, I completed my arrangements. Mrs. Lieder procured for me an attendant, and Mr. Lieder very kindly afforded me his efficient services in accompanying me to the British Consulate and getting the stamped, sealed, and signed agreements made with the Sheikhs, who were responsible for my conveyance to Jerusalem.

During my visit at their house, Mrs. Lieder kindly allowed me to read a letter which she was about to forward to a friend in England, on the subject of *the absence of any indications of Idolatry in the early history of Egypt*—no paintings, sculptures, remains, or hieroglyphics of any kind, had been found which implied the worship of animals, prior to the 18th dynasty, which commenced with Amosis, four years before the birth of Moses. The subject is one of deep interest to the biblical student. This Amosis is marked by Sir G. Wilkinson as the "*new king*" (or dynasty) "*that knew not Joseph.*" *Perhaps*, with that change of dynasty came in the new form of religion—an idolatrous system supervening on the old patriarchal and traditional religion, which up to that period had prevailed in Egypt.

On leaving Cairo I was thankful in being able to procure, through the polite and assiduous attentions of Mrs. Lieder, aided by her excellent friend Mrs. Tyler, some Egyptian curiosities. I suppose every traveller visiting such a country as Egypt is anxious to procure these. It is full of antiquities, and looks like a great piece of antiquity itself. The very natives, donkey-boys and all, have learnt to appreciate the European appetite for collections of this nature. They try to satisfy us for their own advantage. They have acquired our popular name for these objects of research, and everywhere you are importuned to purchase some of these "*antiques.*" Not a few, I believe, of these *remarkable relics*, have been manufactured within the

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last twenty years, in the potteries in Staffordshire! It requires, therefore, some little care in making purchases, not to be over credulous. The greatest advantage is, to have "a faithful adviser" on the spot, and such, I gratefully think, it was my happiness to possess.

I left Cairo early on the afternoon of the 18th November, and soon reached the mosque and tomb of Melek Adel. It must have been a splendid mosque in the days of its perfection. It is of the Saracenic order, and now in ruins. The dome remains, and which is curiously and very richly wrought. I hoped we should have reached Metariyeh that evening, about eight miles from Cairo, but my people had resolved on encamping near the mosque above named, pleading that such was their custom, and that by putting up the tents there, and awaiting there the first night of the journey, they could better ascertain if anything was yet wanting, and at once procure it from Cairo. I found it best to submit to their plan.

The next morning I walked forward some distance, then got into my tetrawan, and was thus, for the first time in my life, carried by camels. I found it much easier than wagon-travelling in South Africa. There is a slight jolting motion, occasioned by the dreamy step of the camel, but it is gentle and regular, and one soon gets accustomed to it. I found I could read, even small print, with perfect ease, and write too, without serious difficulty.

In the morning, on leaving our encampment, I passed through the village in which the present viceroy, Abbas Pasha, is building his new palace. It is on an immense scale. The high road, a good macadamized road, runs between the edifices, that compose, as a whole, the palace. One mansion only appeared to me finished—probably that in which he will principally reside; but extensive buildings are in progress for his chief officers, troops, &c. He does not appear to possess more than a very limited amount of the ability, enterprise or energy of either Mehemet Ali or Ibrahim Pasha: his delight centres in large palaces, harems,

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geon-fancying, and amusement. He is reversing many the plans of Mehemet Ali, and reverting to former times. lucation is generally abandoned, and the best friends of gypt fear decline and deterioration, rather than any solid lvancement under his rule. He avoids intercourse with uropeans. Some who had free access to Mehemet Ali, e has not admitted to his presence.

After quitting the palace, we passed but few houses—we ere almost immediately in desert country. A long slip f cultivation continued on our left for some distance, tarked out by date-trees, and watered by a small canal rom the Nile. Our course has been north.

I indulged the hope of passing close to the village of Metariyeh, near which are the mounds and ruins of Heliopolis, the "On" of Scripture, and the obelisk of Osirtasen I. Having travelled forward a couple of hours, I asked my attendant where the village was, and then found, to my mortification, that the guides had taken another road, and the village was only just in sight, on my left, but that we were too far off to see the obelisk. They pleaded, that the waters were still too much out to permit their camels to pass that way. I suspect this was false, and that they had taken the nearer path, for their own convenience; but as I had neither donkey nor mule with me for riding, I was obliged to pass forward, without seeing the two objects I had so much desired—the site of the ancient and celebrated city from whence Pharaoh obtained a wife for Joseph, she being the daughter of the priest of "On," and the famous granite obelisk bearing the Pharaoh who had received Joseph, Osirtasen I., and who reigned from 1740 to 1696 before our era.

We next reached Balbeis, once a town of some importance, and known as the battle-field between Almerick of Jerusalem and the Sultans of Egypt, during the crusades. Near to this town is a place in ruins, by which we passed. It is called by the Arabs "Kafr," signifying ruins. It is also known by the name of Tel-et-Reta, and which is

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believed to be the site called also Tel-el-Yehud, the hill or mound of the Jews. It is near here that Onias the high priest built a temple in the town of Ptolemy Philometer, and which was called Onias, or Onion. This is twelve miles from Heliopolis.

I now found that travelling by camels was about as rapid as travelling by oxen. They are not able to perform much more than twenty miles per day. They go about two and a-half miles an hour. They make an incessant grumbling noise while they are being loaded, snarling at every additional pound weight. But they are helpless. They are made to kneel down, and then a cord is fastened round the fore-knee, till the burden is completed. As soon as the cord is removed, they instantly start up and seem to say, "Not an atom more!"

We encamped in the evening just across the *old canal*, that formerly led from Suez to one of the branches of the Nile, laid down in Arrowsmith's map. The men pointed out to me the exact part of the road where we crossed it. I could not, however, discover a vestige of it; but they assured me it was the spot, although at present wholly covered by sands to some depth.

Having reached the well Abu Suwe, we filled our water casks containing about thirty gallons, and supplied the camels with as much as they chose to drink. The well is bricked; the water seemed to be at the depth of twenty-five feet, and there was a good supply. It is a little discoloured, and very slightly sulphureous in taste, but it is a blessing in the wilderness. Three women from the neighbouring village had come to draw water. Our men borrowed a skin and cord of them, to facilitate their drawing up the supply as required. It was then poured into a pan, and each camel led to it in succession.

The faces of these native women were concealed beneath the common veil of Egypt,—perhaps with advantage, ugly as the veil itself is. There is beauty in the human face divine, such as Sarah had when Abraham led her on this

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route. But degrading treatment, hard labour, and coarse fare, seem to obliterate the inviting lineaments, and to render a veil as desirable in the absence as in the possession of beauty.

Two men on foot, armed with muskets, passed us in the course of the day. They were suspected by our party, as *spies for thieves*, with which all that part of the Desert is known to abound. Our people, therefore, resolved to watch diligently through the night. They had in fact watched every night since we had left Cairo, but this night their care was redoubled, knowing that the locality was famed for the thievish character of its inhabitants, who prowl about to seize whatever they can find, without committing acts of violence. Our Arabs at meal time uttered their usual formula when they apprehend danger, to the effect "that they are now about to eat, that any honest man may partake with them, and that God will be with him." If any stranger approaches, they offer him food; if he partake of it, they have nothing to fear from him, as they never violate the rights of hospitality; if he refuse, they suspect, and watch him.

On the 27th of November, the ninth day after leaving Cairo, I was sincerely glad to reach *El Arish*, the last stage of the journey in Egypt, and perhaps the point of separation between Egypt and Syria, and so also between Africa and Asia. It is the Rhinoculura of the Greeks, as marked in all the maps. It is spoken of as having been the penal settlement, the "Botany Bay," of the old Egyptians, where criminals, having first had their noses cut off, were transported by the Pharaohs. The place derived its very name, El Arish, it has been stated, from the barbarous custom just mentioned, as it signifies the "place of the broken noses."

I find in the maps that a stream or river is laid down as falling into the sea at El Arish. Nothing of the kind really exists. There is no stream whatever falling into the sea at this place or anywhere near it. The men who accompanied me, and who are continually passing and repassing

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here, assured me there is not any, and I received the same assurance from the officer of the quarantine stationed here, an intelligent French gentleman, with whom I had been conversing. I showed him Arrowsmith's map. He assured me there is *no river here;* adding, that possibly, in some rainy seasons, some torrent from the higher country to the south may run to the sea in that locality. But the whole country is so sandy, that this is scarcely possible. The stream would be absorbed before reaching the sea, and there is certainly no torrent bed along which it might occasionally roll.

El Arish is a town occupied by the troops of Abbas Pasha. The troops and inhabitants together form a population of 1000. There were formerly many trees and gardens in the vicinity, but these were destroyed on the invasion of Egypt by Bonaparte, and have not since been restored. It is a mistake in the geography of Egypt, as given in a small work lately published, to say, that "Selehieh" is its last town on the eastern frontier. I had left Selehieh at some distance on the west. "El Arish" should be inserted as the last town on the east of Egypt. Perhaps, however, the *authority* of Egypt extends still some little way further. Between El Arish and Khan Jounes, (nearly two days' journey,) there are some wandering tribes of Arabs who profess to be independent, and hence a small section of the country stretching to the coast might be regarded, I think, as a continuation of Arabia, and forming a slip of intermediate territory between Egypt and Syria. The most southern town of Syria on the west is Khan Jounes, —Jonah's Khan. Abbas Pasha claims some paramount authority over this part of the country, between El Arish and Khan Jounes. He does not occupy it by troops, nor exact service or taxes, but he holds the Sheikhs of it responsible for good behaviour, as far as "Refah," which consists now of ruins only, but at which two pillars are set up, as in some way a boundary mark between the two countries of Egypt and Syria.

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I was surprised and delighted to see the great quantity ploughed land in this part of my route. I had thought would be impossible to produce any harvest on such a il. It is all sand, with merely a few scattered stunted ishes. But that very sand is fertile. It is first ploughed, ien, as soon as rain falls, it is ploughed again, then sown, nd the seed is ploughed in; and in the course of three or our months, a good harvest is obtained—the barley harest first, and then wheat, beans, lentils, &c., &c. The loughing is a very simple process. Two asses are emloyed, or a camel, or two oxen or cows, to draw the plough, ind a man walks behind guiding it with one hand.

The town of El Arish is the place for performing quarantine for all persons passing *from* Syria into Egypt; but for those who are proceeding *to* Syria, the quarantine is performed at Gaza, or in part at Khan Jounes, and the rest at Gaza. My passport was "*viséd*" here, and a guarantee certificate obtained from me for my two attendants, for whom I had not taken out passports at Cairo. Being natives, it had not occurred to me as necessary, and they themselves assured me, that in Cairo they were informed by the proper authorities that it was not in their case needful or customary. However, the charge for it was only three piastres, about 7*d*. sterling. It was made out in Italian, but the general language used here is Arabic.

During the latter of my journey, not far from El Arish, we were "called up" by a Bedouin Arab well mounted and armed. He demanded a piastre for each of the three Nazarenes, meaning Christians, of my party,—myself and two attendants. The camel-drivers being all Mahometans, are not required to pay. Of course, the amount was immediately forthcoming. He bowed politely and passed on. I came prepared for this "black mail" demand. It was to occur three times on the route, and has in it, if complied with, nothing very formidable or very expensive.

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CHAPTER XIX.

PALESTINE.

KHAN, JOUNES—MURDER—RETALIATION—GAZA—QUARANTINE—LAZARETTO—MOSQUE—ASHDOD—RAMLAH—HILL COUNTRY—JERUSALEM—CITY WALLS—MOSQUE OF OMAR—FOUNDATIONS OF THE TEMPLE—VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT—DR. GOBAT—CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—LITERARY SOCIETY—POOL OF SILOAM—ANCIENT BRIDGE—MOUNT OF OLIVES—GETHSEMANE—BETHANY—SOLOMON'S POOLS—HEBRON—PILGRIMS—MACHPELAH—MAMRE—BETHLEHEM—GILGAL—JERICHO—JORDAN—GREEK CHRISTIANS—DEAD SEA—NABY MOYSE—CISTERNS IN JERUSALEM—SUPPLIES OF WATER—MOHAMMEDANISM—LEAVE JERUSALEM—BETHEL—ANATHOTH—SHECHEM—JACOB'S WELL—EBAL—GERIZIM—SEBASTE—JENIN—ESDRAELON—NAZARETH—MOUNT TABOR—LAKE OF TIBERIAS—CITY OF TIBERIAS—MAGDALA—MOUNT HERMON—THORNS AND THISTLES—CONDITION OF WOMEN—BANIAS—SILKWORMS—DRUSES—DAMASCUS—MISSIONARIES AT DAMASCUS—MOHAMMEDANISM—ROMANISM—OUTBREAK AT ALEPPO—JEWS AT DAMASCUS—ZEBEDANE—BAALBEC—IMMENSE BLOCK—DIFFICULT TRAVELLING—ZACHLE—MALAKA—HAIL, SNOW, ICE—BEYRUT—ALEXANDRIA—THE RIPON—ARRIVAL AT SOUTHAMPTON—REACH HOME—DIRECTORS—PAPAL AGGRESSION—SUMMING UP—CONCLUSION.

ENTERING now the ancient country of the Philistines, I hoped to have reached Gaza from Sheikh Juide in one day. That I found, however, from its distance, to be impracticable. In the course of the morning we came to Refah, or Raffia, once a city of considerable magnitude, as is evident from the quantity of fragments of pottery scattered profusely over the ground. Two pillars of dark-red granite remain, about twelve feet high and sixteen inches dia-

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meter, and these are beautifully polished. At a short distance is a large well, of from six to eight feet diameter, of great depth, but not now used. Here Pharaoh's daughter was delivered into the care of the elders who came down from Solomon to receive her, on the occasion of the marriage of the son of David with the daughter of the Egyptian monarch. Here also Antiochus and Ptolemy fought: elephants had been trained for the battle, and Antiochus was defeated.

We came to Khan Jounes a little after mid-day, fully resolved on going forward; however, the Governor of the town, a Turkish authority, and his suite, met my men, and told them it was proper to remain for the night, assigning as reasons, that we could not reach Gaza that night, and that he could not at that moment send the escort with me, which he deemed essential to my safety; but that no time would really be lost, as this delay would be reckoned a part of my quarantine. Five days are demanded for quarantine on entering Syría, including the days of arrival and departure. Khan Jounes is in Syria, and the Governor is under the Sultan, and not Abbas Pasha. My stay there would be reckoned one day, and the next day, on reaching Gaza, would be accounted a second day, out of the stipulated five days. My attendant very prudently told me, that, being now in quarantine, I must not move to any distance from my tent. The same circumstance prevented all intrusion on the part of the people. We kept a respectful distance from each other.

We pitched our tent near some tombs. Two women shortly after passed by, crying and weeping bitterly. One of them had just lost her husband, a camel-driver, who had been killed during the week by the Bedouins who had that very morning demanded of me black mail, and to whom I paid three piastres. The demand in the case of this murdered man was made on account of some Christians whom he was conducting on the road. The camel-driver had refused the payment. His temerity cost him

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his life. The man who was killed belonged to Khan Jounes. I asked what the authorities would do in that case, and the answer was, "Nothing." They cannot, by their customs, do anything. The murderers are *Bedouin* Arabs, and the people here are *Fellahins*. These will retaliate on the Bedouins whenever an opportunity occurs, and kill one of their number. A wild kind of justice, or rather injustice this, for vengeance may fall on a most innocent victim! The tribe suffers, but the real murderer may escape.

Khan Jounes is a place of some importance. The view of it, in approaching, is pleasing; there are many large and inclosed gardens. The sight of *green* was refreshing after the monotonous sands of the last ten days. I saw water-wheels at work, of a very ancient construction, and concluded the place was well watered. Cactuses are here immensely large; their fruit is much liked by the people. There were none ripe at present, neither were the dates ripe. I could hear of no other fruits being raised here, nor any vegetables at all. The people seem to live very sparingly; their principal food is cake,—a little flour and water baked on the earth by means of hot embers. The one I ate on trial I found good, but I felt that I would much rather not be confined to such coarse diet.

A guard on horseback was now appointed to accompany us all the way to Gaza, to keep all passers-by at a respectful distance, including the very dogs of that country, lest, by any chance, we, coming up out of Egypt, might infect them with the plagues of that country; and they, in turn, unfortunately infect the good people of Palestine.

Many Arabs passed us on horseback, well dressed, armed to the teeth, and on good steeds. They were quarantine officers, under the government of Syria, and had either been with parties to Gaza, or were on the look-out for such as try to evade the quarantine laws, by taking some circuitous route away from the high road.

We reached the Gaza district about mid-day, crossed a

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Wadi, called the Wadi Gaza, and then some low sand-hills, and came in sight of the town, with the Lazaretto and its red flag flying, at a short distance on the south side of the town. I tried to get permission to fix my tent outside the Lazaretto, in the fields, but was told it was not the custom. So into the Lazaretto we were conducted, as if criminals awaiting execution. It is a large quadrangular building, with several apartments for travellers. There are upper rooms at the two extremities, at one side of the square, totally unfurnished, and for one of these for myself, and one below for my servants, I had to pay £1 18*s*., and moreover, to have the honour of boarding two men with my servants during my stay, who should watch that we did not break through quarantine. An impudent piece of imposition altogether! Here was a fine season; no sickness prevailing at Cairo, from whence we came; no sickness in any of my party; and yet *five days' quarantine and delay* demanded, and payment into the bargain! But it could not be avoided; and so I submitted to it with the best grace that an Englishman, not at home, could do. There is a tolerably good view of the town from the building. Cultivation is also extensive; and the scene from the front window is thoroughly good, and reminded me of some of our English parks. There is a well-built fountain in the centre of this Lazaretto, and the water is of excellent quality.

Here, then, I found myself actually in Palestine; and although not yet in the most interesting section of it, still it was the land of the Bible, every inch of which seemed full of incident. I was now in the original country of the Philistines, and in Gaza, on the coast allotted to the tribe of Dan. From this ancient town Samson carried away the gates, as recorded in Judges xvi. 21; and here, too, he was made prisoner, and subsequently took his revenge on the lords of the Philistines, who had assembled for sport, by destroying them at a moment when most intent on their merriment. In the New Testament, we find Philip

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instructed to proceed to the road that conducted "from Jerusalem to Gaza, which is desert," and in doing which, he met with the officer of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, explained to him the prophecy of Isaiah, and administered to him Christian baptism, on his profession of faith in the Saviour.

The afternoon before I was allowed to leave Gaza, the medical attendant attached to the Lazaretto came to pay me his official visit. He was formerly a Roman Catholic, but is now a Mussulman. The only ordeal I had to go through, was "to show my tongue." The doctor seemed as satisfied with its appearance as I was with the reality; and so we wished each other good day. Next came the demand for the £1 18s. for the quarantine fees, &c.; and then a civil request for "backsheesh," for the servants in attendance. My passport was also returned in due form, and endorsed.

We began early next morning our preparations for departure; and, by eight o'clock, were ready for starting. I took a guide and went through the ancient town, giving directions that the camels should meet me outside, at a little distance on the Askalon road. I found the town large; and, perhaps by mid-day, when the bazaars are all open and people are full of business, it may wear some appearance of activity. In the morning I found everything dark, dull, and insipid. The houses are built of mud; and the pathways are narrow, dusty, dirty, and abominably disagreeable. The shops in the bazaars are very ancient; they are built chiefly of stone, and covered in with stone archways. I could fancy some of them to be just what they were when Samson paid Gaza his visits.

Gaza occupies the side and summit of a hill of no great elevation. On the north-east, the view is extensive; the distant hills come into view, and must be those, I apprehend, to which Samson "carried the gates of Gaza." They appear to be about thirty miles distant. The old town of Gaza was, however, destroyed during the Jewish

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war, and was to remain uninhabited. "Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful, and Ekron, for her expectation, shall be ashamed, and the king shall perish from Gaza."—Zech. ix. 5.

This old town is not far from the present one. It is in part occupied; but there are many ruins, and among them are, it is said, the very pillars of the temple of Dagon, that Samson pulled down on the heads of the Philistine nobles! On the site of the temple, the empress Helena built a magnificent Christian church. That church has since been converted into a mosque; and is, in fact, the principal mosque in the place. It is a noble structure, contains some good Corinthian pillars, and is among the oldest Christian antiquities in the country. The keeper made no scruple about admitting me, simply pointing, however, to my shoes, and intimating that I must do as he did, take them off, and leave them at the door. Having stockings on, and good mats to walk on, it was no severe punishment.

We encamped at Hamami in the evening, and next morning passed by *Asdud*, the "Ashdod" of the Old Testament, and the "Azotus" of the New. It is not now inhabited to any considerable extent, but was once a place of much importance and strength. We crossed the Wadi Asdud and two ancient bridges in the course of our journey, and passed two large villages, Igbabah and Zurnogah, not laid down in the maps which I had with me. They were about half-way between Asdud and Ramlah.

I passed over a portion of the extensive plains of Sharon, with its fine arable land, a large proportion of which—although its population is sparse—is under cultivation. Animal food is not in general use. The natives subsist principally on wheat; and hence we may account for their cultivating what might else seem an unnecessarily large quantity of ground.

I next reached Ramlah, the ancient Arimathea—once of some importance, now comparatively poor, and much

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dilapidated. Here my engagement with the camel-drivers terminated; and I had to obtain mules and muleteers to convey me to Jerusalem, distant now one long day's journey. Ramlah is a large town, and looks well from the field immediately below it, where we encamped. Most of the houses have dome-shaped roofs to their principal rooms. The casements, or windows, are made of cylindrical tiles, open at both ends, and of three inches diameter. These little brick cylinders are piled on each other, in the shape of pyramids. They admit some air and a modicum of light. They serve as "jalousies;" persons within the rooms can peep out through them, and see a little of what is passing; but those without can see nothing of what is passing within. Alas! for women under Mohammedan rule!

I found it difficult to procure mules at Ramlah, excepting at a very exorbitant rate. My attendant, Barzily, proceeded to Jaffa, to procure some there, and returned soon after midnight. I required the same number of mules that I had had of camels. These animals are strong, well-trained, and capable of enduring much fatigue. Their iron-shod feet pass much better over the stony and rocky soil than camels could. The attendants pack large sacks of straw on the backs of the mules, and then lash the packages across these, so as to hang down by their sides. In the same manner they carried my "tetrawan" without difficulty.

Part of the road from Ramlah is good. The country is a fine rich fertile plain; after that the scene changes. Instead of a rich loamy soil, it all becomes stony and hilly. It is the hill country of Judea. The rock is a fine-grained limestone.

In the course of the afternoon, Barzily went forward to endeavour to secure my admission through the gate at Jerusalem, in case I should not arrive there till after sunset, when it is usually closed. It was well he did so, for instead of reaching the city by five or six o'clock, the

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muleteers were eleven hours on the road, and it was eight o'clock when I reached the Damascus gate.

On asking permission to enter there, it was refused; and, as I afterwards found, we ought not to have expected to be admitted there. Passengers may enter that gate, but not burdens; and I, of course, had my travelling equipage. We were sent round to the Jaffa gate. That also was locked, and the key had been taken to the Governor, the lord mayor, for the night. It had been kept open for me, at the instance of the English consul, beyond the usual hour, when, not arriving, it was concluded I was remaining outside at some distance till the morning. The guards were very civil, led me to the guard-room by the wall, gave me a seat by their fire, and offered me a pipe! There I waited till the arrival of the key was announced; and then I soon found myself at the family hotel kept by Mr. Meshullam, and thus, after a long and fatiguing day's journey, my feet stood within the walls of Jerusalem—that ancient city, of which so many "glorious things have been spoken," and where so many wondrous and glorious deeds have been accomplished. I offered devout thanksgivings to Him whose constant care had watched over me during my journeys hitherto, and by whose kindness I was now permitted to visit the spot which I had so often and so ardently desired to see,—a spot sacred to so many and such varied associations—the spot which God himself chose out of all the localities of the earth, "to put his name there;" and whither his chosen tribes, for successive ages, went up to worship.

As the view from the Jaffa road is said to be one of the least impressive and interesting that can be obtained of the city, I was not sorry it was dark when we came within a moderate distance of it. I wished my first impressions, as they are usually the most permanent, to be of a favourable and pleasing character. However, Jerusalem cannot be seen from a great distance on that road. As we were approaching it, my attendant announced to me that we

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were near the city. "Can you see it?" said I. "No," he replied, "but we know its situation." "Can you see any lights?" "No, sir." I therefore kept my place in the tetrawan, nor did I quit it till I reached the Jaffa gate, and went up to the soldiers' guard-room, as already stated.

The first business, the next morning, was to pay off the men who had brought me from Ramlah. The expense was about £2 12s. The next business was to go to the British Consulate, and to pay there, by agreement, the balance due to my camel people, who had brought me from Cairo to Ramlah. This was all done without the least difficulty; and I found Mr. Finn, the consul, exceedingly polite and friendly.

I then took a walk round the walls of the city, proceeding from the Jaffa or Bethlehem Gate; from thence, along by the Damascus Gate, and onward to the mosque of Omar, the acknowledged site of the temple of Solomon, where one is obliged to descend and proceed outside, for some distance, after obtaining at St. Stephen's Gate a peep within the sacred inclosure, just far enough to see the exterior of the mosque itself, and a portion of its beautiful lawn, raised platform, and Saracenic arches and colonnades. The mosque is itself a spacious, splendid octangular building; its dome is magnificent; and though some embellishments may be gaudy, if closely examined, I thought the effect at the distance certainly imposing. But its main interest lies in its historic and sacred associations; there is the threshing-floor of Araunah, on Mount Moriah, where the plague inflicted on Israel was stayed; there the site of the splendid temple reared by Solomon, and where, at its solemn dedication, Jehovah gave signs of his special presence, and the tokens of his approbation; there, after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, the second temple was reared, afterwards enlarged and beautified by the munificence of Herod, of memory illustrious, both for heartless cruelty and magnificence; there the flames of the soldiers of Titus destroyed what

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the apostles had lately admired, but the doom of which the Saviour had distinctly pronounced, when he said: "Not one stone should be left upon another, that should not be thrown down." Nor has the historic interest of the spot ceased with those events; Saracens and Turks have claimed it and possessed it; crusaders by myriads have sighed, and fought, and died for it. The original possessors of it, the Jebusites, have long ceased to have an existence; the Jewish possessors have been for eighteen centuries cast out of it. A small fragment of their nation still clings around it, and weeps over it. Christians visit it with hallowed interest, and long to see it purified from Mohammedan delusions, and consecrated to the spiritual worship of the one true and living God.

The walk immediately outside the lofty wall of the mosque (or temple), from St. Stephen's Gate to its south-west corner, led me by the Golden Gate, of Roman architecture, now closed up, and by many of the huge stones of the foundation of the temple, upwards of twenty feet in length, *bevelled, and of great antiquity*, reaching, I should think, back to the times of Solomon.

Our Lord's prediction of the entire subversion of these buildings, so that not one stone was to be left upon another, would be, I should apprehend, adequately fulfilled in the destruction of the edifices themselves *to the foundations*, without including the actual foundations themselves, which would, of course, be buried beneath the immense mass of ruins poured over them and around them, in the demolition of the superstructures which had rested upon them.

Facing this portion of the walls, and in the vicinity of the double Golden Gate, are very many Mahommedan tombs, having a remarkably neat appearance of chaste workmanship, and bearing inscriptions in Arabic, nicely cut in relief, and painted. I observed some on which a few flowers had been lately strewn.

This walk under the wall of the temple is directly above

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the valley of Jehoshaphat, and, therefore, above the line of the brook Kedron, which was quite dry. Rain came on while I was there, and the afternoon looked threatening. I therefore turned up by El Aksa, and reached David's Gate with as little delay as possible. This is also called Zion's Gate. From thence, I passed through the Jewish quarter—alas! the most wretched and uninviting quarter of the city—on my way to the hotel. I had walked the whole distance, and felt fatigued. I had passed in sight of Siloam, and crossed the Tyropeon, but was obliged to omit further examination till the morrow.

After remaining and resting a short time at the hotel I set out to visit Dr. Gobat, the English bishop, to whom I had letters of introduction. I found him at home, and exceedingly affable. I had a pleasant half-hour's conversation with him, took a cup of coffee, and again returned to my home.

On my way I passed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and, under the guidance of my dragoman, I took the opportunity of going in and visiting some of the spots that are usually pointed out to pilgrims and travellers. My visit to these was, I confess, somewhat hasty. I was satisfied just to have them pointed out. I could not linger over them. I could not feel any confidence in their being the veritable localities. This Church of the Holy Sepulchre is no doubt built on the site selected by the Empress Helena as the site of the crucifixion and its concomitant events. The Latin and Greek churches have now for some centuries had possession of it; and some portions of the building are allotted to the Coptic, Armenian, Abyssinian, Nestorian, and Syrian churches. On entering, the "Stone of Unction," where the Lord's body was anointed, is shown; and the spot where it was placed in the tomb, and where the stone was rolled away; then, where the Saviour appeared to Mary Magdalen and his mother. Then you have a long descent by steps to the spot where the cross is said to have been found, and by which the locality of the crucifixion is iden-

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tified. And there, too, "Calvary" is pretended to be pointed out, and the base of the rock where the cross was planted; and the rent or fissure in the rock occasioned by the earthquake at the Saviour's death!

These details, and many of a similar kind, are all too minute to wear the semblance of truth; and one turns from them with instinctive dissatisfaction. Still, the *great events themselves* took place, no doubt, *not far* from these localities. But man has prostituted to mean, paltry, and selfish purposes all these venerable spots; and the easy credulity of thousands has encouraged it. With many of these, the *feelings* have, no doubt, been those of a sincere devotion, mingled, it may be, with an ample share of weakness. To err is human. I would honour their sincerity and devotion. Many a penitent sigh, many an ardent prayer, has gone up to heaven, from amidst these localities, with acceptance; and better, I would say, the easy credulity that believes on too little evidence, than the cold, insolent scepticism that proudly refuses to believe, lest its faith should be counted for weakness.

The British consul, Mr. Finn, kindly invited me to spend the evening at his house, to meet the literary society, which has been some little time established at Jerusalem, and which promises to render much service in connexion with all questions touching the natural history, antiquities, and social condition of Palestine. A library and a museum are being formed, and are much encouraged by friends in England. I passed two or three hours there very pleasantly, although fewer members than ordinary happened to be present. Mr. Reichards, jun., read a brief paper on the elevations of several of the mountains of Syria. Mr. Finn read part of his journal, during a journey which he had made last October in the north.

The next morning was cloudy, rainy, and cold. As soon as it began to clear up, I commenced my walks, and proceeded first to the Jaffa Gate, and from thence, outside the wall, to the lower pool of Gihon, now dry, but a remark-

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able locality, and formed merely by the excavation and the filling up, at the two extremities, the space across the valley. The upper pool is to the north-west of this, nearly due west of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. From thence I proceeded to the Hill of Evil Counsel; and on leaving that, I proceeded by Aceldama to the fountain of En-rogel, which lies east of the valley of Hinnom, and just at the southern point of the valley of Jehoshaphat. From thence, passing near the singular-looking, yet miserable village of Siloam, but on the opposite side of "Kedron," I came to the "Fountain of the Virgin," and then turned again, under the hill of Ophil, to the Pool of Siloam. I descended almost close to the water's edge, and observed the waters of the pool "going softly," and issuing out to water the "king's gardens," and then ultimately to run into Kedron—"Siloa's brook, that flowed fast by the oracle of God." I counted six pillars on my left hand, as I stood at the entrance under the archway, near the lowest part of the pool. These may have, perhaps, originally supported some roof; or there may have been porches between them, as mentioned in the case of the Pool of Bethesda.

From the Pool of Siloam I proceeded across the Tyropeon up to Zion, the city of David, leaving the tomb of David on my left, and from thence, by the Armenian convent, to Mr. Meshullam's. Here, after transacting some business. I set out to visit the Jews' place of wailing, where they assemble on a Friday to mourn over the desolations of Jerusalem. It is immediately under a part of the western wall of the mosque. From thence I went to visit the remains of the *ancient bridge* that led from Moriah to Zion, across the Tyropeon, and which has been well pointed out by Robinson, and perfectly described in "Bartlett's Walks round Jerusalem."

On the Sunday—the only Sunday I spent in the city—I attended service at the English church. It was wholly conducted by Dr. Gobat. It is an appropriate building, and occupies a suitable locality on Mount Zion, not far

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from the towers, supposed to be those of David and Hippicus, near the Jaffa Gate. There might be seventy or eighty persons present. The bishop delivered an excellent and thoroughly evangelical discourse, from the latter part of Matthew xxv. He read prayers with much solemnity.

In the afternoon I thought it would be no violation of the sacredness of the day to visit "Gethsemane," and the "Mount of Olives," and the "village of Bethany." I did so; and took the grotto of Jeremiah on my way, including also the alleged tomb of Mary, and the reputed tombs of Absalom, Zechariah, &c.

The view of Jerusalem from the summit of Olivet is extremely interesting; and, in the recollection of our Lord's there weeping over it, and delivering his prediction concerning it, it is most affecting. The locality of the Church of the Ascension must be left among the traditions of men. The grotto of Jeremiah is curious, and worth seeing. Bethany has great interest; though I question whether the tomb or house of Lazarus be really the veritable sites. Enough, that *here* the Saviour often resorted. One could not ascend the Mount of Olives without many recollections that here the Saviour and his disciples often came. The exact spot that bears the repute of being "Gethsemane," is inclosed by a high wall; and as we had not obtained the key from the Latin convent, we could not enter it. There are eight old olive trees there; but many ancient olive trees are found in the same vicinity. I was satisfied with those exterior to the inclosure. I could not believe that the trees within the wall could be those that existed 1800 years ago; though it is just possible that they may have sprung from the same roots and occupy the same locality. But the Saviour's visits for devotion may have been among those other spots on the mountain's side, and not precisely on the spot now inclosed. I felt that I was near that locality to which he often came, and where "he poured out strong crying and tears to Him that is able to save, and was heard in that he feared." The exact spot

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from whence he is said to have ascended is also pointed out; but *not* at Bethany, as the sacred historian relates, and which, of course, I believe to have been the case, but just on the summit of the hill. There is a square inclosure, and within that another of small dimensions; and the very stone is there from whence he arose! Too minute all this to demand one's faith. "*He led them out as far as Bethany.*"

From the summit of the Mount, I proceeded to "the village of Bethany," "the village of Mary, and Martha, and Lazarus." It stands at a convenient distance from Jerusalem. It is a village of humble pretensions and quiet retreat, after the fatigues of a day in Jerusalem. At present there is nothing of interest or importance, except its historical associations. Here the Saviour often came with his disciples; here he proclaimed himself, on the death of Lazarus, to be the "resurrection and the life;" and here he revealed his power, in raising from the dead his friend Lazarus, who had already been four days in the grave and was turning to corruption. The ruins of the *house* of Lazarus are shown, and also the very *tomb* from which he was raised up, by that voice which at last shall summon forth from *their* tombs *all* that are in their graves. The remains of the house exhibited as having been the residence of Lazarus and his sisters are, no doubt, of great antiquity, and possibly *may* be what they are by tradition affirmed to be. I felt no certainty in the case, and therefore no superstitious reverence for the spot; but that this is the *village* to which so much reference is made by the Evangelists, there can be no question; and this is of course about the place where the miracle of the resurrection was performed, and which so convinced many, that they believed: and "many also of the Jews went to see Lazarus, whom Jesus had raised from the dead."

I set out on horseback the next morning, for Hebron and Bethlehem. On my way I passed out of Jerusalem by the Jaffa Gate, near which were many lepers lifting up

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their voice and asking alms. A little pecuniary relief was all I could give them. The "miraculous power of healing is passed," and He who once healed the ten lepers, of whom one only, a Samaritan, returned to give thanks, cannot now be approached as in the days of his flesh, when his feet often trod this locality, and "when with a word he cleansed lepers, healed the sick, and cast out demons."

The road to Hebron is, throughout the whole distance, extremely difficult and fatiguing. It leads over a succession of limestone hills, most rugged in their character. One cannot proceed above three or four miles an hour; and to me the fatigue was the greater, from my having an Arab saddle to ride on, with which I am not familiar. The seat of an Arab saddle is so constructed, as to throw the legs far back, and to bend the knees forward, till I found both ached amazingly. I tried to lengthen the stirrups, but they were already stretched to their utmost extent; and in default of that mode of cure, I was glad, at the end of my journey, to stretch myself.

We passed the tomb of Rachel, where Jacob interred his beloved, when they were "now come not far from Bethlehem." Genesis xxxv. 16—20.

We then came to the "Pools of Solomon," remarkable and stupendous works of antiquity. Besides the excavation containing the spring, there are three large pools of equal width, but unequal length. The third and lowest, or farthest from the road to Hebron, is in the finest preservation; and from this the water is conveyed, by an excellent old aqueduct, to Bethlehem.

On approaching Hebron—or, as pronounced here, "*Chabron*," we had to proceed between high stone walls, covered with dry thorns, serving to inclose the vineyards, which exist here on a very large scale. In every vineyard there is a "tower," where, in the grape season, the watchmen keep guard against roving marauders. The larger stones are picked out from the vineyards, and used to form the inclosing walls. The city itself is evidently very

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ancient. All its buildings have an air of antiquity; but the whole place is extremely dirty—wretchedly dirty. If it were the policy of the Turkish Government to destroy its population, by creating as much unwholesome nuisance as possible, it deserves credit for its success. There was an appearance of activity about the place. I passed several shops and manufactures. They make glass ornaments: prepare skins for carrying water; work in silver; and follow other occupations. There are no Christians residing here. There are about 2000 inhabitants, one-fifth of whom are Jews, and the rest Mahometans. By the Jews universally, it is considered one of the four sacred places which they recognise—Jerusalem, Tiberias, Hebron, and Safed. My dragoman conducted me to the house of one of the Hebrew nation, by whom he appeared to be well known and much respected. The mother of the family received me very courteously, and assurèd me I was welcome. I had brought my own provisions with me; but sweetmeats and coffee were soon served up by my kind hostess. Shortly after our arrival, a party came in from Mecca, returning from the pilgrimage. There was much shouting and rejoicing; but the voice of joy was quickly turned into mourning. Intelligence was brought by the same parties of the death, on the journey, of some of their friends, whose connexions reside here; and a large company of women was soon at the Mohammedan burial-ground, weeping loudly. The Sheikh presently came to the ground, joined the party, offered prayer, and all then returned home. I was conducted to a part of the city which immediately overlooks the burial-place, where, it is said, repose the ashes of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

This spot is full of interest in connexion with the history of the patriarch Abram. Gen. xxiii. An ancient name of the city was, it appears from the Mosaic record, "Kirjath Arba," "and the same," it is added, "is Hebron." There Sarah, the wife of Abram, died; and on that occasion it was that Abram first obtained actual possession

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of a landed interest in Canaan. He purchased a field of the son of Zohar, Ephron, and paid him four hundred currency shekels of silver, and had the property duly conveyed. This spot was called "Machpelah, over against Mamre; the same is Hebron." Gen. xxiii. 19. The tomb which was pointed out to us as the burial-place of the patriarch, is said to be also that of Sarah. Gen. xxv. 10. A spot is pointed out as Mamre, at a short distance, and a fine old oak also is there, which "tradition" says, is that under which Abram had his tent.

I could not hold much conversation with my hostess or her family. I could not speak Arabic, and my dragoman was not familiar with English. I managed tolerably well with him in all simple matters touching our limited domestic economy; but beyond that, the perplexity from the confusion of tongues is a complete barrier to the "feast of reason and the flow of soul."

It was a comfortable room which I occupied at the house of my Jewish hostess; it was arched above, so as to allow a dome to the roof; two ancient windows looked into the adjoining olive gardens; on each side of the room were divans, and a lamp suspended near to the part of the room I occupied, affording me ample olive-oil light as long as I required it.

I left Hebron about eight in the morning, and, accompanied by two guides, went to the spot shown as Mamre, and the famous oak there. It is a large valonidi oak, measuring about twenty-eight feet in circumference at four feet from the ground. Abram, it is stated in Genesis, "sat in his tent-door in the plain of Mamre." The view from the oak to Hebron is over an extensive plain. It is now cultivated and covered with vineyards. Whether this, or a plain south of Hebron, is the veritable Mamre, I know not; but this, I think, from the contiguity of the tomb, is probably the true site.

I returned to Solomon's Pools, and then, leaving the direct road to Jerusalem on my left, went towards Bethle

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hem. I soon came in sight of the fertile valley at the foot of the pools. It is now occupied, and cultivated and ornamented by Mr. Meshullam. He has the spot as a farm, and seems to be turning it to good account. It is the best cultivated of any spot which I have seen since I left Cairo. It is here that Solomon made his "pools," and his "hanging-gardens," and planted his trees, as described by himself. Eccl. ii. 4—6.

I visited "Bethlehem," the city where the shepherds announced the wonderful intelligence which angels had conveyed to them,—the advent of the Prince of Peace. The town is like the other towns of Palestine; there are many ancient buildings, and many ruins; much poverty, and great discomfort. I did not remain long. I visited, of course, the Church of the Nativity, and *saw the stone* on which the Saviour was born, and the crib in which he was placed!

Tradition, of course, has been busy in a spot such as Bethlehem. Pilgrims would naturally wish to see the *exact* spot where the Saviour was born. The great fact of his becoming incarnate for us men, and for our salvation, is not enough. The minutest details are demanded, and the demand is readily complied with. A church has been built, said to be over the *very locality of the birth;* and a kind of altar, adorned with lamps, and screens, and silks, is exhibited, with a flat stone enriched with mosaic work, as the precise and identical spot where the Virgin Mary became the happy mother of the promised Saviour.

At a little distance from this, lower down on the right, is a representation of a cross or cradle, adorned with lamps also, as the veritable place in the manger in which he was laid; and yet, marvellous to tell, all this is far beneath the surface, and, so far as I could judge, hewn out of the rock—whereas there can be little doubt, that the meaning of the Scripture history is, that the whole transaction took place in a khan, or resting place for travellers, which is always on the surface of the ground,

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and rather on elevated spots than beneath them. All this deception, in pretending to point out the exact locality of such marvellous events, is to me offensive and annoying. It seems like making merchandise, by priestcraft, of holy things, and falls under the censure implied in the Saviour's language: "Take these things hence, and make not my Father's house a house of merchandise."

On reaching home, I formed a plan to visit the Dead Sea the next day, if the weather would permit, and accordingly I set out, accompanied by Colonel Willoughby, of Brooklyn, New York, to Jericho. We had some hesitation as to the weather. It rained slightly, and threatened rather more. Still, as our time was short in Jerusalem, we resolved on venturing. We engaged proper attendants. "Security" is made sure, by a payment. The time for attacks and robberies has not long ceased. The road to Jericho has not long lost its unenviable character. Down to a very recent period, it has been dangerous to travel there, lest a man should "fall among thieves, and be stripped, robbed, and wounded." But arrangements are now made in Jerusalem, with the Sheikhs of that part of the country, and payment being made, they guarantee the traveller's safety. The charge to me was 24*s*. We formed a party, amounting to ten, on horseback. A Russian General formed one of our number, who seemed going on pilgrimage to Jordan, to bathe there, as a devout member of the Greek Church. We could hold no conversation with him, as he could speak only Russian and German. We paid him attentions, and found him pleasant, gentlemanly, and very exact in his devotions.

Much of our road was over rocks, and among ravines, where it was impossible to proceed with much rapidity. Some of the gorges were remarkably abrupt and awful, forming good scenes for the pencil of an artist. We reached our village about four o'clock, and found a wel-

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come in an Arab hut, of a very humble and homely character, but we preferred it to our tents, on account of the dampness of the ground, and the threatening rains.

Ancient Jericho is pointed out at some little distance, and the ruins of a town are there. Our resting place was probably where Gilgal stood, and the other site may be that which witnessed the Divine interference on behalf of the favoured tribes, when they crossed the Jordan, and compassed that city seven days. The whole locality is full of interest. Yonder, across the Jordan, must have been the place where the tribes assembled at the close of their forty years' wandering and training; there Joshua had exhorted and instructed them; not far off, Moses had died; there they crossed the river, whose waters fled astonished at a presence and a power more than human; the hosts crossed and trod the land of promise; the city of Jericho was taken, and the hearts of all the kings of the country fainted when they heard the intelligence.

We retired to rest at an early hour; yet but little rest could be obtained, from the incessant barking of the dogs. Colonel Willoughby offered to pay the master of the house the value of his dog, if he would shoot him to give us a little quietness. He said it was impossible. He would not kill the dog for a thousand piastres, (£10). He was the guard of his flock, and of his house by night. But to put the matter to rest, the dog was brought into the house; and said my guide, defying all rules about gender, "*He* has a little son there and wants to be with him;" and so it proved; the poor animal had puppies in a corner of the habitation, and the maternal feelings were made easy, as soon as the parties embraced each other.

Early next morning we set out for the Jordan, seven miles distant. We were nearly two hours reaching it. The road was on a descent from the higher ground to a plain, at the termination of which we found ourselves on the banks of the far-famed stream. It was flowing along

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as a noble torrent. The late rains had contributed their share to its fulness, and it was now deep. I felt no inclination to bathe in it. It was too cold to do so for pleasure, and I had no superstitious belief in its efficacy, morally or emblematically, to induce me to plunge into its rapid stream. Our Russian friend leisurely undressed himself on the bank, went through his devotional exercises, and then walked down into the stream; where, finding it rather difficult and dangerous, he prudently called his Arab attendant, a powerful man, to accompany him, and, taking him by the hand, he went forward to a sufficient depth—plunged himself three times beneath the flood, then returned leisurely—reascended the bank, dressed, performed his exercises, and returned home. We rode rapidly forward on account of the cold and rain, and did not see the General again. I confess I felt respect for the good man; he seemed perfectly sincere and devout, and I dare say was acting up to the light he possessed, and the religious instruction he had received.

The banks of the Jordan are covered with vegetation. The time of my being there was not the season for flowers, and therefore I saw none. Oleanders and willows, and olives and other shrubs, there were. In the summer season, the foliage must be exceedingly rich and beautiful.

This is the far-famed river that flows down from the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, (now Baneas), to the Dead Sea, which itself gives name to the plain or valley, "the plain of Jordan," and which plain is usually estimated at about fifteen miles in width, having the mountains of Moab on the east, and the plains and mountains of Judea on the west. But there is a painful dreariness over all the scene. It must have been far otherwise when occupied by the thousands of its ancient inhabitants, the favoured tribes of the seed of Abraham, and when diligently cultivated by their industrious hands, and when receiving blessings from above; but now it is stripped of its inhabitants, and the land mourneth and languisheth. "The

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hand of the Lord is stretched out against it, and his anger is not yet turned away." The people are few in number; the cultivation is poor and rude in the extreme; there is latent fertility in the soil, but industry, protection, and encouragement are wanting—and the time of Zion's redemption is yet to come.

From the Jordan we proceeded rapidly to the northern extremity of the Dead Sea. We remained there but a very short time, and then hastened to Nabi Moyse. We tasted the water of the lake, and found it *extremely acrid*. Bathing in it was out of the question; the weather was far too cold, rainy, and boisterous. Heavy clouds were coming up from the south-east, and gave a character of awful gloom to the spot. Perhaps such weather is more in character with the history of the locality. Remembering the fate of Sodom, Gomorrah, and the other cities of the plain, one can hardly fancy that a bright sunshiny day would be in harmony with the spot. On that history, concerning the plain that Lot chose—the warning given—the deliverance of Lot—the destruction of his wife—the ruin of the cities—the geological changes,—on these and many other points, I refer to Lynch, Robinson, Wilson. Russell, and a host of valuable writers besides.

We reached Nabi Moyse about two o'clock. This is said to be the tomb of Moses. I marvel at the insolence of men in imposing on human credulity, and at the weakness of credulity, to be so imposed on. The tomb of Moses! when Scripture assures us, he was so buried, "that no man knew of his sepulchre." God himself interposing, as it were by a miracle, to conceal the place of his interment, lest the Jewish leader should become an occasion of sin, as an object of idolatrous worship. God is jealous of his honour. At any rate, the resting place of the ashes of Moses must no doubt have been in the east, and not the west of Jordan, —somewhere in the mountains of Abarim, overlooking the plains of Jericho, but certainly not here, on the west side, so far in the country, too, as Nabi Moyse.

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One very curious and interesting object which I visited in Jerusalem, was an immense cistern or reservoir, at a great depth under ground, not far from the Church of the Sepulchre and the Abyssinian convent. We descended forty footsteps to the surface of the water. Its extent and depth could not be ascertained, but there seemed a supply adequate to the demands of the city; and this, in connexion with other reservoirs of a similar nature, though not so large, may account for the fact, that, in the history of the various sieges to which Jerusalem has been exposed, the city had not suffered from a lack of water; a lack, which the besiegers in some cases have suffered most painfully. Great labour must have been bestowed on the masonry of this reservoir, in the hewing out of the excavation itself, and the descent to it by steps, and the hand-balustrading, and the cementing the walls to the height to which the water might at times rise.

Having been to see the English Hospital, the Diocesan School, and other objects of interest, I completed my arrangements for leaving Jerusalem on my way to *Beyrut*, as I found there was no probability of finding any vessel at Jaffa that would suit my purpose. My dragoman who accompanied me from Cairo, I agreed with to take me on this further portion of my journey, and to bring me to Beyrut by way of Damascus in a given number of days, so as to be in time for a steamer which I then expected to find on the coast.

Leaving Jerusalem, I looked round again and again in every direction, to get the most complete picture of it I could, and to have the whole as indelibly impressed on my mind as possible. I lamented the brevity of my visit. I had not been able to examine all so carefully as I wished; but I was thankful to have seen Jerusalem and other localities so far as I had done.

I would willingly have remained two or three weeks longer, could I have commanded the leisure. There was much yet to be seen, and more to examine; but I felt that

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I should hereafter *read* works on Jerusalem and the Holy Land with more interest and more intelligence than before, understand more vividly many passages of Scripture, and perhaps be able to interest and profit others by appropriate illustrations. Upon the whole, I think the ideas I had formed of Jerusalem and the country, prior to my visit, were tolerably correct. Hence, I am not conscious of experiencing any strong feelings of surprise or disappointment. Neither have I felt much enthusiasm enkindled,—certainly not enough to constitute me a hermit, to go forth through Europe to try to stir up a crusade to rescue the Holy City and Sepulchre from the hands of infidels. But I see enough to make me increasingly thankful for the kind Providence that has given and secured a liberal government to my own country, to make me jealous to guard its liberties, so far as may lie within my power or influence, and to make me anxious that Britain should use by all fair and legitimate means its influence in promoting liberality in other governments. For want of this,—I mean, for want of just, wise, and benevolent governments, Egypt and Syria are what they are, and must remain so,—unless the governments respectively improve. And so far as Great Britain has influence with them, I think it should faithfully and vigorously employ it, as a sacred trust in Providence for the welfare of the people. I do not see how even Christianity can elevate these people without a change in the policy of the government, just because it cannot be made to bear at all extensively upon the people, while the stern, unrighteous, savage law of Mohammedanism prevails, that condemns to death the Mussulman who forsakes and changes his religion. I confess, I have increased greatly in my abhorrence of that religion in its social aspects. It degrades woman immeasurably below her just position. It makes her completely the mere mechanical creature of man's inferior passions. He may caress her and guard her in her harem, dress her, bedizen her, lavish gold, pearls, and jewels,—it is just to subordinate her altogether to himself, and to aid in

gratifying his own sensuality. No education, no liberty, no mind, no independence for woman in Mohammedanism! What is to be done, then, for Mohammedan nations? The subject is worthy of a Christian essay—a prize essay, exhibiting the countries, statistics, conditions, prospects of Mohammedan nations, suggestions for modes of action, and all that can bear legitimately on the subject.

The destinies of Palestine I touch not. The land I see clearly *can* sustain a vastly augmented population, even by its present imperfect mode of agriculture. How much more were the modern improvements of chemistry, drainage, manure, change of crop and seed, &c., introduced!

I left Jerusalem by the Damascus gate, and took a lingering farewell of that ancient city which I may never expect to revisit, but the reminiscences of which will ever be precious to my heart. I may no more see the "mountains that are round about Jerusalem,"—no more gaze on the city once so "compact together;" but if I forget Jerusalem, my right hand must forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. My prayer is, that the Lord may soon "turn again the captivity of his people," and that the salvation of Israel may come out of Zion.

The day proved remarkably fine; it was cold, but clear, dry, and invigorating. The appearance of the country north of Jerusalem resembles that to the south. It is all hilly, yet the hill sides are all cultivated by means of terraces formed on the horizontal or slightly angular formation itself. These terraces give a character to the scenery. Where all seems sterile, there is fertility. I would say of these limestone hills, as of the sands along my route from Cairo to Palestine, they seem *saturated with fertility*. They are so now, under all the disadvantages of the present social state of the country, and the manifest fulfilment of prophecy. Under auspicious circumstances, the Divine favour, good secular government, and the industry of the inhabitants, the land would yet assuredly become all that Moses and the prophets have said of it. We reached Beeri, the

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[illegible] of the Old Testament [illegible]. Some [illegible] were [illegible] informing us [illegible] where [illegible] demand for the manufacture of [illegible]. The [illegible] is [illegible] from the [illegible] in the region of the Dead Sea. This is the principal manufacture in Jerusalem. The [illegible] and is [illegible] in small cakes, stamped with the picture of a church or other public [illegible].

We passed in sight of the ruins of [illegible]—Bethel—and not far distant another village—[illegible]—Anathoth, and [illegible] Yabrud, where we pitched our tent in a patch of ground outside the village, amidst some grumbling on the part of its owner—his method of asking for payment, which, of course, it was our intention to give him.

We continued our journey towards Nablous, the *Shechem* of the Old Testament, and the *Sychar* of the New. The country here is too cold for vines, but it seems favourable for olives and wheat. We passed, at a little distance, Silom—Silon, "the city of the Silonite," that is *Shiloh*, where Samuel ministered; where Eli lived and died, and where the Ark was so long kept: a place full of scriptural interest, but now exposed to the ancient reproach,—"Go now and see what I have done to Shiloh, for the wickedness of my people."

On approaching Nablous—*Sychar*, we met a large party of pilgrims just returning from Mecca, and who were being met by their friends with many congratulations and demonstrations of joy.

I was anxious to see the "Well, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph," and where the Saviour held his ever memorable conversation with "the woman of Samaria." Not meeting it so soon as I expected, and finding I was getting close to the town, I asked my guide where it was, and he assured me it was at the other end of the town. This puzzled me, as I thought we had

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come by the direct road from Jerusalem. However, I found there was another direct road—that, in fact, the road diverges, on approaching the town, into two parts; and so I had to reserve for the morrow my visit to the Well.

The situation of this town is excellent. It has in its immediate vicinity extensive olive grounds; in fact, it stands in the centre of plantations. The town itself is not visible, on account of the trees, till you are close upon it. I found a residence for the night at the house of a respectable Greek Christian, one of a new body of that church, or rather of a party separating from it and calling themselves *Protestant Greek Christians.* They hold meetings among themselves for reading the Scriptures and prayer. They amount to about thirty in the town. There are 400 members of the Greek Church, and it is stated, 24,000 Mohammedans, and only 40 Jews. There are some Samaritans, but as of old, "the Jews and Samaritans have no friendly intercourse;" "they do not wish to see each other," said my dragoman. There are Greek Protestants in several other towns,—such as Nazareth and Tiberias.

In the course of the evening, I had some conversation with some of these Greek Christians, though very imperfectly, owing to my ignorance of the Arabic, and the imperfect acquaintance my dragoman had with the English. They proposed to me some questions respecting ordination and the power of the priesthood to forgive sin. It was perplexing not to be able to converse with them freely and fluently. I pressed on them the importance of spiritual worship, taking as my motto, our Lord's conversation with the woman of Samaria,—"God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

I went this morning to see the Samaritan synagogue, and on my way was shown a large room or house, *said* to be the residence occupied by Jacob when he heard of the death of Joseph, as related by his brethren who had sold him, and where the fond father wept so bitterly. There is an ancient inscription on a stone in the wall of the syna-

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gogue, said to be as ancient as the building. I wished I could have taken a copy of it. I named it afterwards to Mr. Nicolayson, and begged him to endeavour to procure it. There is a very ancient copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the synagogue, which the rabbi showed me, after some little coy reserve. Its age is not known.

One of the most delightful and refreshing things to be seen in Nablous, is the abundant supply of water. It rolls through many of the streets in large streams, and might be made to keep the place as clean as Regent-street itself, instead of leaving it, as it actually is, dirty as the dirtiest part of the east of London in November weather.

A fine view is obtained of the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, from the court of the Samaritan synagogue. These mountains of "blessing" and "cursing" run parallel to each other, north and south—Ebal on the north, and Gerizim on the south. Sychar is built in the valley between them. See Deut. xi. 29; and xxvii. 11—13.

There stands a place of worship on Gerizim still. The Samaritans have an annual procession there for religious worship. To this mountain the Samaritan woman referred in conversation with the Saviour at the well. The old rabbi told me there were Samaritans at Paris, and that they had a synagogue there. Nablous seems a busy place for a Syrian town; it has an air of industry about it that is gratifying. Many of the people are employed in the manufacture of cotton cloth.

We started for Jenin about eight o'clock, and proceeded first to the *well* of Samaria. The upper part is choked up, but by going down a little distance, and removing a stone that covers the mouth of the well, it is still found there, and is deep. There is a good deal of masonry near the well, indicating some buildings in former times. This is all on the road from Jerusalem in coming to Sychar, and near to the spot where that road winds round the foot of Gerizim, in turning up the valley towards Sychar.

It was impossible to visit the spot—still retaining the

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ancient name of Bir Jacoob, the "well of Jacob"—without thinking much of the visit, and scenes and conversations so beautifully and graphically described by John, chapter iv. Near this spot is shown Joseph's tomb, probably the real site of the interment of Jacob's beloved son. See Joshua xxiv. 32.

For a long distance our route continued amidst cultivated land, and where figs and olives abounded. Our direct course was to *Sebasté*, the ancient Samaria, and chief city of the kings of Israel, after the revolt of the ten tribes under Rehoboam. It is now a poor village, occupied by a few of the Fellahin; but it was once great and noble. It had splendid buildings and a large population; but it is overthrown, and presents a scene of dreariness and desolation, just according to the prophecy of Micah i. 1—6. Lord Lindsay says, "he was never so forcibly struck with the fulfilment of prophecy, as when walking over the hill of Samaria."

The two things that chiefly attracted my notice were, the remains of an old church, of considerable architectural beauty, some pillars, cornices, and part of the dome of which yet remain tolerably perfect; and some pillars, standing in the form of colonnades, forming part of the two sides of a quadrangle. These are supposed to be the work of Herod, to whom the country was indebted for many magnificent works.

We passed on to *Jenin*, and found accommodation in a native house, which was empty, and swept, but not "garnished;" and left by the owner entirely for my accommodation, and it answered its purpose perfectly well.

The Rev. Mr. Nicolayson and his daughter were there, on their way back to Jerusalem, from a visit to the north. They had just come from Nazareth. I took tea with them, and much enjoyed the hour's intercourse I had in their society. Mr. Nicolayson is very familiar with the country. It is twenty-five years since he first came to Jerusalem, and he has been resident there nearly twenty years, in connexion

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with the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.

On our way to Jenin, we had some fine views of the Mediterranean, stretching along the coast on the west, and a portion of the famous vale of Sharon. In all this part of the country are rich valleys, and magnificent plains, with fine soil, capable of sustaining a very large and wealthy agricultural population.

After taking a view in the morning, from an eminence in the village, in company with Mr. Nicolayson, of many surrounding objects,—namely Carmel, stretching out to the sea, the neighbourhood of Acre, and the valley of Sharon, the great plains of Esdraelon, and the mountains of Gilboa and Galilee,—I commenced my journey to the city where the Saviour was brought up; but where, indignantly rejected, because he was of mean origin, "he could not do many mighty works." Their own incredulity, amidst abounding evidence, deprived them of blessings they might else so richly have enjoyed.

It was a most lovely morning, and my route now lay across the splendid valley of Jezreel, the plain of Esdraelon, or Megiddo—for it takes various names. One advantage connected with our slow travelling with mules is, that it is possible to read while riding. I did so that morning. I read the 35th chapter of the 2nd Chronicles, as recording events that transpired between 2000 and 2500 years ago in this plain; and Zechariah xii., as relating to events that perhaps are yet future. Here, perhaps, may be the scene of some great events in the world's future history, at present wrapped up in the mysterious predictions of the great battle of Armageddon. It is a splendid plain. Tabor comes into view, and Jebel-es-Sheikh, the Hermon of Scripture, with its glorious and snow-capped summit.

On reaching Nazareth, we went direct to the convent of the Annunciation. It belongs to the Franciscan friars. It is newly built—of course perfectly clean. It is exceedingly

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comfortable. The reception is most courteous, and the attentions kind. No charge is made; some little compensation is expected, but in all this matter there is the greatest hospitality. I had my own provisions, else, as my visit was during the "fast" preceding Christmas, my fare must have been very slender. The good father who attended on me was fasting daily till night, and then he confessed he felt rather hungry. Nothing could induce him to touch a morsel, not even a crumb of bread. I mentioned to him, that there are many Protestants who "fast," but yet take a *little* morsel to assuage the gnawings of appetite, so that the mind may be less interrupted by the cravings of the body, and thus serve God the better. I thought he might quietly assent to this, as a good idea; but he seemed awfully shocked, hung down his head, and remained silent.

He took me to see the chapel of the Annunciation, where there is much beauty and decoration. Many lights were burning, and two or three more were kindled on my entrance; and my guide himself devoutly knelt. Then there are shown the *very* room where Mary sat, when the angel Gabriel announced to her that she was to be the mother of the Saviour, and the spot where Gabriel stood, when he announced the message; and a *very* remarkable pillar, in two parts—the upper part miraculously sustained, "suspended" without support, in the air, and the lower part of the shaft in its proper place. I remarked to the friars who were pointing out these things, that the upper part was granite, and the lower marble! on which, they said something to each other in Italian, that I did not understand, and so we came away. They did not show me, as they usually do to travellers, the exact spot where Joseph worked at his trade; but it is under the same roof. My scepticism about the marvellous pillars made them, I imagine, less inclined to show me other wonders.

I had a quiet evening in the large salle-à-manger.

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Being the only traveller there, I had no interruption, and, after enjoying a good night's rest, I was prepared to start for Tabor and Tiberias.

I took a walk round the back of the town, and over the hill that surrounds that portion of it, from which an excellent view is obtained of the town and vicinity. The exact spot from whence the ancient inhabitants sought to precipitate the Saviour, when enraged against him and his doctrine, is not known. One site is exhibited, I believe, two miles off, but that cannot have been the spot, as it was, says the Evangelist, "on the brow of the hill where the city was built;" and there is no reason to believe that the site of the city has been changed. There are sufficient places near the city now, at that part of it along which I walked, where any one, being rudely pushed down, would suffer much injury, even though the fall might not be fatal.

From Nazareth it was my intention to go direct to Tabor, but by some little mistake my guides conducted me first to Kefr Cana, "unbelieving" Cana—a name given no doubt in contempt of the Christians by the "Faithful" or believing Mussulmans. The very stigma implies that there had been something of remarkable *fidelity* there.

We turned off from this village to Tabor. It is a splendid mountain, rising boldly in the midst of the plain in a semicircular form, though greater in the length, apparently, than in the breadth.

There is much cultivation on many portions of the side which we ascended, consisting of grain and tobacco. Oaks are also abundant, and other shrubs, and in summer season there are flowers. Crocuses were the only flowers we saw in blossom. The view is fine from the ascent, and must be very commanding from the summit. I regret I could not manage to reach the summit, as I felt I must reach Tiberias that evening, and I preferred giving my time to the *certainties* of that locality, to the uncertainties attaching to the traditional interest of Tabor. Still, I

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cannot say I visited this beautiful mountain without much interest; I would on no account have missed seeing it, and seeing as much of it as I did; and supposing it to have been the real scene of the Transfiguration, perhaps I ascended quite as high as the elevation on which that remarkable transaction occurred. I am not aware of any reason for supposing that it took place on the summit. The Evangelist says, "Jesus led his three favoured dis-diples into a high mountain apart." That describes a mountain of great elevation, such as Tabor is, but does not of necessity imply that he led them to its summit, any more than his going to the Mount of Olives to pray supposes that he went to its summit for the purpose. Gethsemane is shown at the foot of the mountain.

But the Old Testament notices of Tabor have their interest, and the Psalmist's allusion to it also; "Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name." All along this road there is a fine view of Hermon, or, as it is now called, Jebel es Sheikh, "a sheikh or prince of a mountain," a title of honour which it seems well entitled to.

We had passed in our way the ruins of a village called Cana, not now inhabited, but said to be the *ancient Cana*, where the water was converted into wine. We left it at some little distance before reaching Kefr Cana.

Every now and then we got a view of the Lake of Tiberias, and, on approaching it, the view certainly was fine. The lake was perfectly tranquil, embosomed amidst the surrounding hills—not a breath ruffled its waters. It seemed as though nothing could lash such "equanimity" into a rage—as though nature could not afford to permit anything, capable at one time of such perfect placidity, to exhibit fury and passion at another. But there are anomalies in the physical as well as the moral world—as in the history of the Dead Sea. The morning rose with smiles "as Lot entered Zoar;" but the heavens presently poured down sulphureous fires on the other cities of the verdant plain; and, ere that sun had sunk in the western

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sky, the heavens and the earth had warred against these devoted cities, and the smoke from their burning ascended as from a vast furnace.

We soon found ourselves winding through the few and sordid-looking streets of Tiberias; and found a comfortable residence at the house of a Mr. Wiseman, (*not* the cardinal, but) a Jew from Austria. Travellers generally put up at his house as a temporary hotel, and its accommodations are acceptable. I walked through the town and its miserable bazaar. I saw no boat on the lake, and it is only occasionally the men obtain fish there. All the country indicates ancient volcanic action—all consists of basalt, from the summit of the hill to the base.

In the morning I went to the hot baths. The old dilapidated building where they were formerly used, is left to fall to ruins. A new and commodious bath was built by Ibrahim Pasha. Most of his works in this country have been destroyed by the Turkish Government, since Ibrahim withdrew from the country; but baths were so much to their own taste, that they have left them standing.

Tiberias has always been a celebrated place among the Jews, and is still deemed one of their four sacred places. The other three are Jerusalem, Safed, and Hebron. The dresses here are very various among the Jews, differing according to the costume of the country from whence they come. It is still a place of some resort for studious Jews from different parts of the world; for these descendants of the patriarchs are still a literary and studious people. It would be of some interest to know how many of the professors of the German universities are Jews, and how many of these have become Rationalists. I fear few of them are expecting a Messiah, in the sense of their own prophets.

Soon after leaving the city, we came to the ruinous and poor village of Mejdala, thought to be the ancient Magdala, whence Mary of Magdalene derived her name. Blackberry-bushes abound here, and the wild cyclamen flower. The village is inhabited, but on a very small scale. There is

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also a little cultivation of the soil; but all is poverty and destitution. Of Chorazin and Bethsaida I could hear nothing. Against them a sentence was pronounced eighteen centuries ago: "And though heaven and earth pass away, His word" (who pronounced it) "fails not." We passed the ruins of Tel Oum at a little distance, which are thought to be those of Capernaum—Capernaum, once exalted to heaven, and now cast down to Hades, so that no man can say with certainty even where the city stood.

As it was my intention to visit Damascus, on my way to Beyrut, I now kept bearing to the north, towards the sources of the Jordan, and did not therefore proceed to the coast to visit Carmel, Tyre, or Sidon.

The grandest object in all this part of the route was Mount Hermon. It increased in grandeur as we advanced towards it. It rises 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is capped with snow many hundred feet from its summit.

On losing sight of the Lake of Tiberias, we soon came in view of another, a much smaller lake, *El Hoole*, anciently the *waters of Merom*. These waters fall by a narrow stream into the Sea of Galilee. This smaller lake is supplied from the sources of the Jordan, and which are not very far distant from it.

We pitched our tent in the afternoon in an open piece of ground at *Melahy*, a small village, not capable of affording us any accommodation worth accepting. The nights were now cold, and the people with me were anxious to be in huts, instead of tents, whenever it was practicable.

I was struck with the universal abundance of thorns and thistles over all this part of the country, and in fact over other parts of the country also; and it has frequently and vividly brought to my recollection the ancient prediction of Isaiah: "Thorns also and thistles shall come up on the land of my people, until the Spirit be poured out from on high." The threatening is most literally accomplished, Oh for the speedy coming of the auspicious period, when

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the Spirit shall be poured out in the liberal and effective sense intended; and when, with the moral and spiritual changes produced, the physical aspects of nature shall also be changed, and the thorn and thistle no more infest the ground! The present extensive continuance of the curse seemed to me to imply, that the Spirit was *not yet* poured out in the sense intended by the prophecy. With this expectation of the pouring out of the Spirit on the people of the land, may perhaps be connected the prediction of Zechariah, "I will pour out upon the house of David and inhabitants of Jerusalem the Spirit of grace and supplication;" and with that stand connected the repentance and restoration of Israel.

Geologically, all this portion of the country consists of basalt, limestone, and marble;—botanically, it consists of thistles, fennel, and crocuses. There are scarcely any trees. Wood is brought from a distance, and is very dear. I met four women carrying heavy burdens of it, and occasionally asses laden with it. I pitied the women; it is a work too hard for them, and man is a brute to force it on them. No wonder many of the women, so oppressed, have coarse and repulsive features. I say not this to depreciate so noble a portion of the Creator's workmanship, but to condemn man's oppressive cruelty, for such usage has deprived woman of nearly all that is feminine in appearance, gentle in manner, and lovely in spirit. I apply the remark to Mohammedanism among the lower classes, and to much of heathenism everywhere.

We proceeded next towards "Baneas," the ancient Cesarea Philippi, which we intended making our halting place for the night. The plain of El Ghor, over which we passed, is well watered. There we found a long straggling village of Bedouin Arabs, dwelling as usual in tents, some of which were made of rushes, and others of skins. They were perfectly black, "black as the tents of Kedar." There appeared to be numerous families residing there. The cattle are finer than I had before seen in Palestine. The

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plain which we crossed was monotonous in the extreme: not a single flower was peeping forth; no birds were carolling in the sky; no land shells were to be found in that basaltic soil. The only sound on the plains was that of the bells attached to the necks of our mules, till, on approaching a village, the children's cheerful shouts became audible; and the watch-dog's bark was the next welcome note of civilization.

The lofty castle, or rather extensive ruins of the castle of Baneas, now came in sight, at about seven or eight miles distance. The village of Baneas is poor and limited. Near the town are some fine streams that belong to the sources of the Jordan, gushing out from beneath a limestone rock; but cannot be the very sources themselves, for there are streams higher up, that fall into the river below this locality. There are many streams flowing from Hermon and Baneas which bear respectively local names. Perhaps the Jordan may properly be considered as commencing where several of those streams unite, a few miles south-west of Baneas.

The silk-worm is cultivated here with much care. There are booths in the village near the houses of the people where they keep the worm. The mulberry-tree is extensively cultivated for the purpose. We pass by large plantations of it. Some of the trees are old. The young shoots or branches are cut off every year as our willows in England. I observed also many fine plantations of young mulberry-trees. All this speaks well for the industry of the inhabitants. In fact, I did not meet with many signs of idleness on my route. But there is, with all this, every appearance of poverty and discomfort, as though the people either did not know how to enjoy what they possess, or, which I suppose is really the case, are afraid to appear to possess wealth, lest it should awaken cupidity and oppression on the part of their rulers.

Leaving Baneas, and wending our way across the hills, and ascending to high ground, we had fine views of all the

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surrounding country. A Druse woman passed us, having on her forehead, agreeably to the custom of the country, a projecting horn, and from which a veil descended that covered her face. This was the first which I had seen. It had a most singular and by no means a graceful appearance. It is made of silver or gold, for those who can afford the precious metals ; of tin or copper for the poorer classes. It is hollow and conical. It is fixed to a small pad, and is fastened to the forehead by bands. It would be sadly in the way if worn in our omnibuses ! It is possible that some passages in the Psalms may allude to this singular and ancient custom.

The Druses inhabit some of the fastnesses of Lebanon. Their religious tenets are shrouded in mystery. They seem to believe in the Unity of God and in the transmigration of souls ; but think that in some way Adam came to possess the Godhead, and that long afterwards the founder of their system, Caliph Hakem did the same !

After resting for a night at the Mohammedan village of Kafr Howa, and another night at Artoos, where there is a khan, and over the gateway a couple of rooms for the accommodation of travellers, I set out for Damascus.

The long line of dark foliage of the gardens and plantations which surround Damascus, had been in sight nearly the whole of the previous day, together with some white buildings just peeping out among them. But in the approach to Damascus from the south, which was my line of road, there was no striking view of the city. In fact, it is not seen until the traveller is almost close upon it, being so entirely surrounded by trees. After about two hours and a half's ride from Artoos, we came to the exterior portion of the gardens. It occupied fully half an hour more before we passed through them, and nearly the same time in reaching the hotel, (Hotel de Palmyra), which is kept by a Greek, and is the only one in Damascus to which Europeans resort. My long ride from the gate by which I entered, gave me an opportunity of seeing this

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most ancient city. Though it has some things in common with Cairo and Jerusalem, it has its own character. It was a noble street as to width, through which I passed on entering the town, yet the houses and shops have a miserable appearance on the outside. Nearly all the buildings are plastered with a light brown coloured mortar. The exterior affords little indication of wealth or comfort. But there is great animation, a great show of industry all over the place; men, women, and children are all busy. The shops are full of goods, and manufactories seem all brisk. My first object was to get a bath—a thoroughly good Turkish bath. This I did, and found it exceedingly refreshing after my long journey. I found it preferable to those of Cairo. At Jerusalem there was no bath fit to go into; all there are extremely dirty.

Damascus is most amply supplied with water. I do not wonder that Naaman was so proud of the rivers of his city. The Barada is supposed to be the Pharpar of Scripture. It is uncertain what stream now exists that was called the Abana.

My attention was next directed to the bazaars. I engaged a cicerone, a fine old Jew, Ibrahim Soliman, who is well recommended by former travellers for intelligence and civility. I accompanied him through several bazaars, and through the lanes running between the gardens; went to see the fine old arch or gate near the mosque, then took a peep into the court of the mosque, as far as is permitted — St. Thomas's gate, and then, having reached outside the walls, my guide led me up, not a hill, for there is none near Damascus, but a mound or heap of rubbish and from the summit of it he pointed out the extent of Damascus, with its 110,000 inhabitants.

Damascus was unusually full at that time, in consequence of the number of pilgrims [Hadji] just returning from Mecca. Here were Arabs in abundance, Sheikhs and their followers, Jews from many nations, Turks, Armenians. Greek and Syrian Christians. The women walk about in

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large white robes, with their faces veiled with dark coloured silk handkerchiefs. The children are very good-looking, fine, healthy, and strong, and not many of them troubled with sore eyes as in Egypt. Three English gentlemen arrived at Damascus from Beyrut and Baalbec on the Sunday evening; and came to the same hotel where I had taken up my quarters. They had lately arrived from Liverpool. Mr. Moss, one of the party, came out in command of a steamer, the "Nile," and was making arrangements for establishing a regular line of steam communication direct between Liverpool, Beyrut and Alexandria. His vessel would shortly leave Beyrut. This would just leave me time to visit Baalbec, and, if all were well, to have two or three days at command at Alexandria, before finally embarking for England.

I called on Dr. Paldin, American Missionary, and had the pleasure of meeting also another member of the Mission, Mr. Porter, from Ireland. There are four Missionaries at Damascus, connected with the associated Presbyterian Churches of America and Ireland. The Missionaries are supported by the Societies of those countries respectively, but voluntarily unite on the spot in forming one mission. They seem encouraged in their labours, which are directed to the Christian population of Damascus, and in part also to the Jews. They have no direct access to the Mohammedan population. The Mohammedan law condemns to death, and actually inflicts the punishment on any one of their sect embracing Christianity. It seems that a man was put to death a few years since, who *had* been a Christian, and renounced it for the profession of Mohammedanism. On renouncing Mohammedanism and returning to Christianity he was condemned to die. The ambassadors at Constantinople interfered on his behalf, and were promised by the Turkish Government, that at any rate nothing should be decided in the case of the man till the government had first communicated with them. In defiance of the promise, the man was beheaded. This afforded a strong ground of re

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monstrance, and the law was then modified in favour of parties *returning* from Mohammedanism to Christianity, but left it in the same state as affecting all others.

It being Christmas-day, and no English services being held in Damascus, except one which I conducted in my own room, we went to the Roman Catholic chapel. It is, I suppose, part of a large Turkish house, and has been decorated for its present purposes. The organ is wretched and the singing bad. The only pleasant voice was that of the priest, who was gorgeously bedizened on the occasion. I was suffering from headache, and was rather glad of it as an excuse for leaving the place before the service concluded. There was everything to make one regret that such should be the perverted exhibition of Christianity, in the midst of a place where the purest and brightest form of Divine truth should be unfolded.

We learned here that the outbreak at Aleppo, which had proved fatal to several of the Christians, had been completely suppressed. General Bem had bombarded the Mussulman part of the town, and many of the people perished. The Ottoman government had decreed that the Mussulmans should rebuild, at their own cost, all the Christian churches which they had demolished, and refund the property stolen, or otherwise destroyed.

This is the first measure of the kind adopted by that government, and has been adopted solely through the vigorous and resolute steps of the European ambassadors. This decided suppression of the émeute at Aleppo saved Damascus, and perhaps, all Syria, from similar acts of violence. I heard it stated, that there was every reason to believe, there would have been an insurrection in Damascus, and much violence attending it, had not the news arrived of the strong measures adopted by the Turkish government in reference to Aleppo. General Bem, it was added, had since died. He had long suffered from wounds, and had had a ball extracted from his thigh in England. He had always refused to take medicine.

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A short time since he became worse, agreed to take medicine, and died.

Rents are extremely low in Damascus. The hotel where I was staying was spacious and in good condition. A large room, in which a native musical performance was held last night, seemed to me nearly as large as Crosby Hall itself, and quite as lofty. They can make up from twenty to thirty beds; and yet the rent is only £30 per annum. It belongs to a Jewish widow. The residence also of the British consul is an excellent one. There is a fine court-yard, with trees, shrubs, flowers, and fountains, and obtained on very easy terms.

I visited again the gate of St. John's Church—a fine specimen of ancient architecture; it may be of the age of the Romans, or possibly earlier, and afterwards adopted for a Christian church. I went also to see the interior of two Jewish residences, and found them exceedingly beautiful, and even magnificent. I can imagine that, without strong religious feeling, an Israelite occupying such residences, would very unwillingly take up his abode amidst the squalor and wretchedness of the Jews' quarter in Jerusalem. There is nothing in the exterior of these Damascus mansions to commend them—nothing to indicate the wealth and luxury within. But the court-yards are beautifully paved with marble in mosaic work; and fountains abound. Trees, flowers, shrubs, climbing-plants, give variety and elegance. The rooms are halls—splendid saloons, lofty, and richly ornamented, and some of them elegantly furnished. The good lady of a house at which we called was at home, a comely dame, sitting with her maidens, busily occupied with some domestic affairs. She made no difficulty in admitting us to see the apartments; in fact, she seemed pleased to allow us to do so. It afforded her servants the opportunity of receiving some little "backsheesh."

On leaving Damascus we had a long and fatiguing day's ride to Zebedani. The view of Damascus from

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the hills immediately above the village of Selahiah, is most delightful and magnificent. The hills conduct to Anti-libanus; the path is winding and difficult. We passed a few villages and considerable herds of cattle. There is much cultivation. Oaks, poplars, and olives, abound. We found that much snow had fallen as we continued our ascent.

After some lingering delay on the part of the muleteers in starting, we at length set out for Baalbec. We were still crossing Anti-libanus, and about mid-day came in sight of Lebanon itself—the vast towering range of Lebanon, with its glorious heights covered with snow. On descending from our heights, we came to the vast and rich plain of Bekáah, perhaps the Baca of the 84th Psalm. We passed on our descent immense portions of rock, which I take to be porphyritic slate, originally of the Silurian formation. We came then to a fine stream passing to the *north-west*. Hitherto all the streams had run in the opposite direction, the south-east.

I hoped to have reached Baalbec by sunset, and to have enjoyed the sight of the ruins at that moment; but it was impracticable. It became dark half-an-hour before we arrived, and I could but just distinguish something elevated before I reached the convent. This something consisted of the six splendid columns that constitute one of the finest portions of the ruins. At the convent I found tolerable accommodations. One *padre* was there, of the name of Bartany, a Greek Catholic. He was friendly and tried to be attentive, but we could hold very little conversation together. He knew only Italian and Arabic, and with these my acquaintance was far too limited for the purposes of easy intercourse.

Soon after daybreak, next morning, I set out with my dragoman to visit the ruins of Baalbec. I took with me Lord Lindsay's volume, containing his description of them, that I might use it on the spot and make myself familiar with the site and ruins by his aid. But rain

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came on, and I found I could do no more than take a hasty glance of the mighty and awful scene, and then proceed on my journey, anxious to reach Beyrut with as little delay as possible, so that I might be in time for the steamer to Alexandria. I will, therefore, only say, that I was *awe-struck* with these immense, these marvellous ruins. I gazed with astonishment on their grandeur—grandeur though in ruins, the very embodiment of ruined magnificence, and where the very ruins seem to be imperishable! They are not mere piles of buildings, but of exquisite and elaborate workmanship: and the skill employed in *elevating* such masses of masonry, must have been prodigious. The mind that planned all this work must have been a master mind, and the wealth and munificence that could command all this must have been of the highest order.

And yet, this was not done to the glory of God—to Him of whom are all things, and to whom all must ultimately, and *ought* primarily, to be consecrated. The temples are ruins; but they are splendid monuments of heathenism, and might well admonish Christians, with their far higher privileges and attainments, how much is demanded of *them*. "Wherever much is given, much will be required."

As I rode away from these ruins, I turned as often as I could, to take another and another view of them. It was such a scene as I had never beheld before, and, most probably, never should again. The world has nothing equal to it. I went down into the long vaults or passages under the temple, on which, indeed, the platform of the temple stands. Even these underground arched vaults are works of surprising extent. They are now used chiefly by muleteers, as resting-places while on their journey!

I proceeded to the quarry, at a short distance from the ruins, and rode round *that immense block*, cut from the solid rock, though not yet detached from it, mentioned by all travellers. It is about seventy feet long, twelve feet wide, and fifteen deep. An amazing mass! How it was

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intended to remove it, I cannot tell. Its weight is esti mated at above one thousand tons! No voice survives to explain its design.

At Baalbec, I went also to see the small circular Corinthian temple, with its columns and niches, which yet remains. It must have been very chaste and beautiful in its original state. And after leaving Baalbec, there are some fine columns on the road, still upright, and forming some kind of building that I could not understand. They are formed of red granite.

The rain was now drenching us, and my people wished to remain at a village, which we reached at half-past ten. This I positively refused to do; and we kept on till two o'clock, when, coming to a village called Habla, we obtained a house, and agreed to remain there for the night. The people were civil and hospitable. My people told me we could not proceed in the morning, if there were rain; as rains in the lower country would be snow, ice, and hail as we ascended the mountains, which we must now pass on our road to Beyrut. However, they came in the morning to say they wished to go forward to another village, at three hours' distance, otherwise the path might become so frozen that we should not be able to go on for a length of time. Parties, they assured me, have been detained ten, twenty, thirty, and even forty days, and sometimes the journey proves fatal; the mules become unable to keep their footing: they fall and perish. The travellers, being thus left to walk, find they cannot long bear up against the cold, and they perish too. A party, with fourteen mules, was some few years ago conveying money to Constantinople, to the Government. The people and the mules all perished, and the money was found on the spot, on the return of the spring and the melting of the ice and snow. These were no very pleasing associations, certainly, and I was glad to find my people anxious to press forward, so as to get out of the region of delay and danger. We set out at nine, but a fierce hailstorm drove us back again. This

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subsided, and we recommenced our journey, kept on till about eleven, and then took up our quarters at a village called Malaka, where the people assured us it was impossible to proceed farther without most imminent danger. "If you wish to die," said they, "go forward; if not, remain here." This village is about three miles from Zahleh, a somewhat important place for manufactures. Malaka has about 2000 inhabitants; chiefly consisting of Maronites and Greek and Latin Catholics. There are no Mohammedans. I remained all the next day at that village, as the weather still rendered it impossible to advance. Some Metualis, I was told, reside here. These form a sect of Mohammedans. There are, in the Anjary mountains to the north, some Metuali Anjaries, whose worship appears, from the account given me, to be exceedingly impure. They may be descendants of ancient heathens, as worshippers of Ashtaroth. They forbid any strangers to be present at their orgies. Should any one dare to intrude, he would be sacrificed to their resentment, and pay the penalty of death for his temerity. They veil their ceremonies in profound secrecy, and, if reports be true, may well enough do so.

We left Malaka about nine, and proceeded, amidst heavy rains, across the Bekáah, till we began to ascend Lebanon. Torrents were everywhere gushing along, formed principally by these late rains and snows. We reached Khan el Mereri Job, and there found several parties waiting to go forward to Beyrut. Some had been part of the way, and then returned on account of the impassable state of the path. The khan stands on a hill. It is farmed of the government by a native, for about 1000 piastres a-year (£10), and the man realises his profit by the sale of a few eggs, poultry, a little bread, &c., to travellers. The view is fine over the valley, where the industrious hand of cultivation is abundantly visible.

We left the khan early, not a little encouraged by finding that *snow* had fallen during the night, as being safer to

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walk over than masses of congealed hail. The wind had also changed in our favour, and we were led to think there would not be rain during the day. We pressed forward with as much speed as possible, but it was with extreme difficulty. Many parts of our road were dangerously slippery; the mules fell under the burdens, and both horses and riders came down. Still we had no relief. Our only safety was in urging our way forward. In about three hours we reached the highest portion of the mountain we were crossing, but which was far to the south of that part of Lebanon where the famous cedars are found. It was perfectly out of the question to visit them. The road thither was entirely blocked up at that season, with snow. The highest range of Lebanon is 11,000 feet above the level of the sea. The part where we crossed is thought to be about 8000. It occupied us more than seven hours to descend, and reach Beyrut, the ancient Berytus. We arrived there in the evening, after having halted half-an-hour on our way down the mountain, at a khan, where we obtained some acceptable Arab refreshments, coffee, thin bread, honey, cheese, and wine.

I was heartily glad when the lights in and about the town of Beyrut began to appear, and it had been with no small pleasure that I had seen on my way down the mountain, one steamer, if not two, in the bay, so that I indulged the hope I might yet be in time to overtake the "Nile," and reach Alexandria at the time I desired; namely, a day or two prior to the departure of the Oriental Company's steamer to Southampton.

My dragoman conducted me to "Belle Vue Hotel," which is kept by a Greek of the name of Demetrius. Its accommodations are good. I partook of refreshment, and soon retired to rest, thankful that I had now reached the termination of my journey, where I might bid farewell to camels, mules, and donkeys, as I had done to oxen and wagons on leaving the Cape, and that henceforth I had only to do with British steamers.

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Never can there be effaced from my memory the three last days of 1850 and the first of 1851. They were intensely cold, and the journey was extremely fatiguing. Yet I envy not the man who would not gratefully endure all that cold and all that fatigue for the sake of the glorious scenes which I was then permitted to witness,—the magnificent ruins of Baalbec—the rich and richly cultivated valley of Bekáah, and the twin mountain ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with all their glorious heights.

And then Beyrut itself is a beautiful spot, and its country romantic and delicious. It is fast rising into commercial importance. It contains already European wealth, intelligence and enterprise, and with these its commanding position ensures its prosperity.

I soon made my arrangement for leaving by the "Nile" steamer for Alexandria, but had sufficient time remaining to call on Colonel Rose, Consul General of Syria, and Mr. Moore, Consul for Beirut, on Rev. Eli Smith of the American Mission, and to visit the valuable printing establishment under his superintendence. I found Mr. Smith busily engaged on a new version of the Scriptures in Arabic, direct from the Hebrew. The version at present in use was made from the Vulgate, and is considered less faithful and correct than could be desired.

I had left my muleteers on the road in charge of my luggage. They safely overtook me the next morning. I paid them for twenty days' tour from Jerusalem, including the three spent at Damascus. The charge was 65 piastres, (6*s.* 6*d.*) a day, including two horses, three mules and three men to attend them. I rode the whole distance on horseback. My dragoman did also. The mules conveyed the goods, and no accident befel any of them, beyond a little slipping about and an occasional fall amidst the icy paths of Lebanon.

I passed an agreeable evening with Colonel Rose, (son of Sir George Rose) and a party of friends, and was glad to embrace the opportunity of conversing with the Consul-

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General on the affairs of Aleppo and of Syria, and of the Mohammedans, so far as they had fallen under his own observation.

The next afternoon, having settled with my attendant Barzily, who had accompanied me all the way from Cairo, I embarked on board the "*Nile*," and we proceeded very pleasantly at ten knots an hour towards Alexandria, our destination. The "Nile" is propelled by a screw, and worked with much ease. Our distance was 360 miles.

On reaching Alexandria we found that the Company's steamer, the "Ripon," had arrived after an unusually quick passage from Southampton, and was again just about returning. The captain of the "Nile" having discharged his cargo, and the passengers who intended to remain at Alexandria being left in the lazaretto there, he promptly and politely conveyed me round from the quarantine harbour, to that in which the "Ripon" was receiving her cargo and passengers, and by three o'clock (5th January) I was transferred alongside that noble steamer, and as soon as the usual quarantine regulations had been complied with, I was admitted on board. It was some little disappointment not to have time allowed for visiting the popular antiquities and modern lions of Alexandria, but there was compensation in the thought that I was now fairly on my way to "that land of every land the best,—my home." We had remarkably fine weather, agreeable passengers, and a commander of most sterling value—Captain Moresby. We anticipated reaching Malta within four days after leaving Alexandria, then Gibraltar in five more, and within another five, Southampton itself. And all this, through the unceasing care of Him "in whom we live and move and have our being," we were permitted to accomplish, and on the evening of the 20th January I again trod the *terra firma* of Old England, and found a most fraternal welcome from the Rev. T. Adkins, of Southampton, at whose family altar I was privileged to join at the hour of evening worship, and under whose hospitable roof I passed the first night on my return to my native shores.

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Kindly aided in completing all my little arrangements at the Custom House, I was early on my way to London, and it seemed to be a treat, after the leisurely paces of oxen, camels, and mules, to find myself once more keeping pace with the times we live in, and in *one hour* on the South-Western Railway, performing a whole *day's* work of an African or Syrian traveller.

Four such hours placed me again within my family circle, from which no one had been removed by accident or death during my absence. I had been followed during all my tour by a mother's anxious prayers, and the earnest prayers of many. She was spared to greet my return, and I, to attend the closing hours of her pilgrimage. She has now entered into her rest, and her memory will long be fragrant. May the many supplications which she offered return in showers of blessings on those she has left of her family and the church, to the latest generations!

The next day after reaching London, I met some of the Directors and members of the Missionary Society; and, as soon as possible, the great body of the Directors, both of the metropolis and the provinces. To them I presented the official report of my visitation. Since then, I have had the opportunity of making many communications, at various public meetings of the constituents of the Society: and I have now endeavoured, through the pages of this volume, to detail facts, which I have hoped might deepen the sympathy of the Christian public in the enterprise of Missions, under the strongest assurance, that such *labour is not in vain in the Lord.*

During my tour of two years and a quarter, I had learned many things abroad; and now, on my return, I found I had many also to learn at home, and not the least, the movement on the Papal question.

The *last* news I had heard on leaving England at the close of 1848 was, that the Pope had fled from Rome, and was at Gaeta! The *first* news on my return was, that of the Papal aggression—the appointment of a Cardinal for

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Englishmen, in the middle of the nineteenth century—and the aroused spirit of English Protestantism in resisting the imposition of "a yoke, that neither we nor our fathers could bear."

Assuredly I had seen nothing in all my tour to shake my faith or principles as a Protestant, nothing to make me willing to surrender *one particle* of civil or religious freedom, to give up one atom of liberty of conscience, or of the right of placing the Sacred Volume in the hands of every man beneath the skies. I came home with the deepest impression, that *wherever Popery advances, the interests of humanity recede;* that the Protestant faith is the bulwark of English liberty, and the guarantee of Britain's elevation; and that, *if that faith perish from our land,* political anarchy, social degradation, and moral ruin must as inevitably follow, as the shadows of evening and the darkness of night follow the setting of the sun.

I have now closed the sketch of my "Tour," and offered in passing, the incidental remarks which I thought expedient. I forbear to detain my readers longer. I will only say:—

1. If I have failed to awaken an interest in Christian Missions, there is verily a fault in me. The Missions themselves are *not* a failure, or "then the world is a failure, and every thing is a failure." The native tribes of South Africa are indebted for their preservation, their liberty, their intelligence, their social advantages, and their religion, to Christian Missions.

2. I shall deeply lament if I have not shown cause for Britain's interference *on behalf of the coloured races of Southern Africa.* I long to see introduced wiser and better methods of treating them, and the "*rule made absolute,*" that the power which Britain would not dare employ in offering an affront to any one of the civilised nations of Europe that could defend itself, shall not be abused in robbing or crushing one of the meanest tribes of Africa, that cannot resist and defend itself.

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3. I see that in the onward movements of Divine Providence immense fields for the Christian enterprise of the British Churches are opening in Africa and in Asia. Let no man deem the work too vast for accomplishment, for God is on our side. Let no man count his own efforts too mean to be of value, for God works through feeble instrumentality. An infant hand may plant the acorn—germ of the future and majestic oak of the forest; only, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

4. I trust that Egypt and Palestine may share the thoughts and sympathies of many in our land, as well as Southern Africa. If the outline of my tour in those lands of indelible interest, shall tempt some of my ministerial brethren and friends to visit them and aid them, I shall have rendered them and those countries valuable service.

Finally. The more I have seen of other lands, the more grateful I am for Britain; I love her laws, her institutions, her government, her freedom, her sovereign, her religion; and if I have whispered of things, or spoken plainly of things, that need correction, it is not because I love those less, but because I love them more.

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